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ABSTRACT

This issue of the journal includes these papers on contrastive linguistics: "The Impersonal Sentence in Russian and Romanian" (Suzanne Whalen); "Differential Identity Between Languages--A Study of Assertion and Interrogation in French and English" (William A. Bennett); "The Use of the Article in English and Hungarian: A Contrastive Analysis" (Eva A. Stephanides); "A Semantic Analysis of WHO, WHAT, WHOSE, and WHICH and their Counterparts in Polish" (Wieslaw Oleksy); "Some Remarks on the Verbs of Perception in English and Polish" (Barbara Kryk); and "What Differences Are There Between Finns and Swedish-Speaking Finns Learning English?" (Hakan Ringbom). (MSE)

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THE IMPERSONAL SENTENCE IN RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN*

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1. OUTLINE OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.0. In "Some Problems for Case Grammar", Fillmore (1971c : 246) reviewing his work of the preceding five years, pointed out the shortcomings of his model, adding: "I believe to this day that the basic ideas were not all wrong". These 'basic ideas' were first expounded in "A Proposal concerning English Prepositions" and an expanded version of it, "Towards a Modern Theory of Case" (1966; reprinted 1969), at which time Fillmore began to question the validity of the notions subject-object on the level of deep structure as proposed by Chomsky.

1.1. In former theories on the 'meaning' and 'classification' of the superficial (surface structure) cases, while all other cases were shown to express many different meanings and relations, the nominative, as the case of the subject was called 'the case of pure reference, without case meaning' (de Groot 1956 : : 189) or the 'unmarked member of a correlation' which "in itself does not state either the presence or the absence of a relation to an action" (Jakobson 1966 : : 58).[1]

1.1.1. Fillmore showed in such examples as "my foot hurt", "the knife hurt" (1966b : 21) or "John opened the door", "The key opened the door", "The door opened", "John believed", "It was apparent to John" (1968a : 25); "The boy fell down", "The boy has blue eyes" (1970b : 34); that "the relation

---

* No attempt has been made by the author to give an analysis of the impersonal sentence in English. English examples are used for explanatory purposes only.

[1] The original reads: "der N an sich weder das Vorhandsein noch das Nichtvorhandsein eines Bezugs zu einer Handlung angibt". "den N als das merkmallose Glied einer Bezugkorrelation zu betrachten".

of a subject to its clause can vary from one predicator to another and also vary in different sentences with the same predicator" (1971c : 249).

Moreover these relations are independent of the surface form. In the examples "Chicago is windy", "It is windy in Chicago", the relation between the predicator and the noun phrase is the same in either sentence. Fillmore maintained that the nominative, as the surface subject case, is a neutralization of case relations and that one must look for these relations on another, deeper level. To posit a subject in deep structure would mean to lose sight of these relations. The deep structure of a case grammar would have a different and simpler form than the one proposed by Chomsky, as "the deep structure reason for making the first division between noun-phrase and verb phrase was mainly to have a separate immediate denominator for the noun-phrases that were to be defined as 'subject' and 'object'" (1966b : 28).[2]

1.1.2. In a case grammar, the deep structure would contain a predicator (verb, adjective, or noun) and one or more noun phrases associated with the verb (adjective or noun) in particular case relationship or roles. "These roles comprise a set of universal concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgements about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, what got changed, etc. (Fillmore 1968a : 24).

In the course of his writings, Fillmore has kept on changing and re-adjusting the number of cases, their definitions, names, and scope. He started with agentive, instrumental, dative, factive, locative, objective, benefactive, time (1968a : 24 - 25, 32) and comitative (1968a : 81). Later he notes (1971c : 248): "The whole thing makes sense only if there are good reasons to believe that there is an irreducible number of role types by which grammatical theory makes its contribution to semantic interpretation; if it turns out that this number is small if there are reasonable principles according to which these role types can be identified..." The new, still tentative list preceded by abbreviations which will be used hereafter, is as follows:

A. Agent, instigator of an action, animate.
E. Experiencer of a psychological event, or of a mental state verb, animate.
I. Instrument, something used to obtain a result, immediate cause or event, stimulus with a psychological predicator.
O. Object, entity which moves or which undergoes change of state.
So. Source, starting point, earlier state, location or time period.
G. Goal, destination, later state, location or time period; end result of a thing which comes into existence as a result of the action identified by the

[2] Subject defined as the relation between noun phrase and immediately dominating sentence, and object the relation between noun phrase and immediately dominating verb phrase.

predicator; receiver as destination in transfer or movement of something to a person.

P. Place
T. Time } these must be kept separate from both So and G.

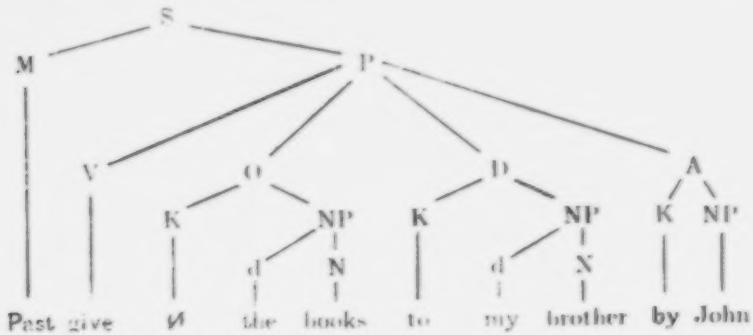
S. Babcock has made a good argument for separating cause C. from instrument:

> "Instruments are at the service of agents, whether or not the sentence contains one, but cause phrases are independent sources of activity" (1972:31).

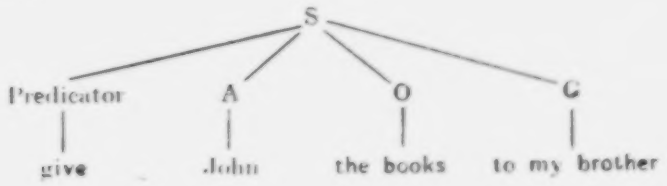
I have reasons to believe that this separation could be shown to be valid for Russian.

Huddleston's suggestion (1970:505) for a separate case, Force, distinguished from Fillmore's I, which might be a complementary variant with A of single case C, is something which will have to be looked into.

It also remains to be proven whether a designative case D is needed, to mark, under G, the entity for which or whom something is intended, as suggested by Kolesnikoff (1972). The formalization of the proposed base also undergoes changes. From a branching diagram which contained modality, predicator, labeled case relations dominating K (case) and a NP (Fillmore 1968a : 35) and which proved too cumbersome,



Fillmore arrives at a simplified semantic representation consisting of a stemma containing a predicator with each case relation directly dominating its own noun phrase:



Although cases in the base structure are not linearly ordered there is a definite hierarchy among the cases for subject and object selection (for those languages which require them) in the unmarked instance. The grammar of a language would provide choice options for shifts in the hierarchical order of deep case relations, depending on topicalization rules or special requirements of different predicators. The surface cases (with or without prepositions or post-positions) would be determined, partially, by the deep structure cases, and, also, by language specific sentence formation rules (SF) which have to do with information about the sentence, such as animateness, definiteness, negation, etc. The choice of particular case forms constitutes the case system of the language. On the deep level a simple sentence is one in which each of the relationships occurs only once. Complex sentences have sentences embedded in underlying representations as occupants of some case role.

1.1.3. One advantage of this model lies in the fact that it separates semantic case relationships from surface morphological cases. In many treatments of grammar, semantic values are attached directly to cases as surface morphological categories with a complete disregard of the complex relationship between underlying semantic case relations and their superficial markers.

1.1.4. An example of such a view of grammar is Iu. Apresian's "Study of the semantics of Russian verbs through their syntactic characteristics" (1970).

On the premise that expressions exhibiting similar syntactic characteristics are close in meaning, while close in meaning expressions enter in similar syntactic relations, Apresian analyses 25,000 examples of sentences with verbs in central position, isolating 4440 "ideal sentences" for 1410 most common Russian verbs.

To determine the meaning of a verb, Apresian examines verbal constructions for their compatibility and for the transformations which they can undergo. Verbs are set in frames with nouns showing the surface case in subscript. Constructions are considered compatible if they can be conflated.

Examples of compatible sentences:

(a) 'He answered me' N^1_n V N^2_a

(b) 'He responded to the suggestion' N^1_n V prep на N^2_a
"He answered to the suggestion"[3]

(c) 'He responded to me with agreement' N^1_n V N^2_a
"He answered me with agreement"

(d) 'He responded with agreement to my suggestion'
"He answered me with agreement to the suggestion"[3]

[3] Literal translations from Russian in double quotation marks.

Examples of non-compatibility:

(a) He supported the woman with advice. N_n^1 V N_a^2 N_c^3
(b) He supported the woman by the waist. N_n^1 V N_a^2 prep $N_c^3 \rightarrow$
(c) *He supported the woman by the waist with advice, (can not be conflated).

Sentences are transformations of each other if they contain a semantic invariant. For example:

(a) This worries him.
(b) He is worried by this.
(c) He is in a state of worry because of this.
(d) He is experiencing worry because of this.
(e) This fills him with worry.
(f) This arouses a feeling of worry in him.
(g) This brings him into a state of worry.

An example of a rule which transforms sentence (a) into sentence (g) is:

$$N_n^1 \text{ V } N_a^2 \rightarrow N_n^1 \text{ [(bring)+prep. N(V)}_a\text{] } N_a^2$$

The basic unit of a language described thus is the "Ideal sentence", which consists of a class of sentences with verbs in central position, that show the same syntactic characteristics (compatible constructions and transformations).

Apresian's study, while it provides abundant examples of surface structure frames for 1410 verbs, does not lead to any insight or generalization about Russian syntax. Moreover, it obscures the semantics of the language. For example, as a result of the above analysis the verbs in the following pairs of sentences were entered as having different meanings in (a) as opposed to (b) below:

(a) bake potatoes	(b) bake cakes
O	G
dig the earth	dig a hole
O	G
shave the customer	shave the beard
D	G

In a case grammar model the difference between sentences (a) and (b) would be explained as a difference in role relationships and not in the meaning of the verb. (The relationship in (b) is that of G; in (a) the first two examples are O and the third is D). The confusion between semantic case relations and surface structure morphological cases hampered the attempts to apply a generative transformational model to Russian syntax. Note the sarcastic comment of the Russian linguist O. Akhmanova:

> ...the very extensive linguistic folklore, the endless series of specially concocted sentences on which are based the methodological expositions of generative linguistics (1972 : 134).

1.1.5. As the following example from R. Růžička's transformation of impersonal sentences (1963 : 30) shows, there was nothing to be gained from a generative transformational model. The following nuclear NP are posited in the deep structure:

NP_1 = Nom; NP_2 = Gen; NP_3 = Dat; NP_4 = Acc; NP_5 = Instr; NP_6 = Loc.

Generation of impersonal sentences first requires a rule to convert

$$\text{Sent} \rightarrow \text{NP VP to Sent} \rightarrow \text{VP}^{\wedge} \; -$$

to effect the generation of impersonal sentence

strašno (mne)

'it is frightening (to me) (I am frightened)'

from:

NP_1	+	to be present 0 past	+	special class of adj	+	(NP_3)
poterja fem. sing. loss		*byla* fem. sing. was		*strašna* fem. sing. frightening		*mne* pronoun optional (to me)⇒
×	+					
		to be present 0 past	+	special class of adj	+	(NP_3)
		bylo		*strašno*		*mne*
0		neuter sing. was		neuter sing. frightening		(to me)

In a case grammar model the above sentence would be analysed as having a psychological state predicator which can take experiencer and cause. When the experiencer is shown in the surface structure it is in the dative case and no subject agreement rules apply. When the cause is shown in the surface structure, it takes the nominative,[4] and requires predicate agreement in number and gender (*poterja* 'loss', used in the above example, is a feminine noun in the singular).

1.2. In Romanian, surface cases play a minor role.[5] As in Russian, subjects in surface structure are not always obligatory and the language has several types of impersonal sentences. Following is an example of analysis for two types of such sentences by G. Pană-Dindelegan (1971 : 126 - 128). To justify deletion a special type of "indefinite constituents" transformation is first posited. The model used has VP as the governing element in the sentence.

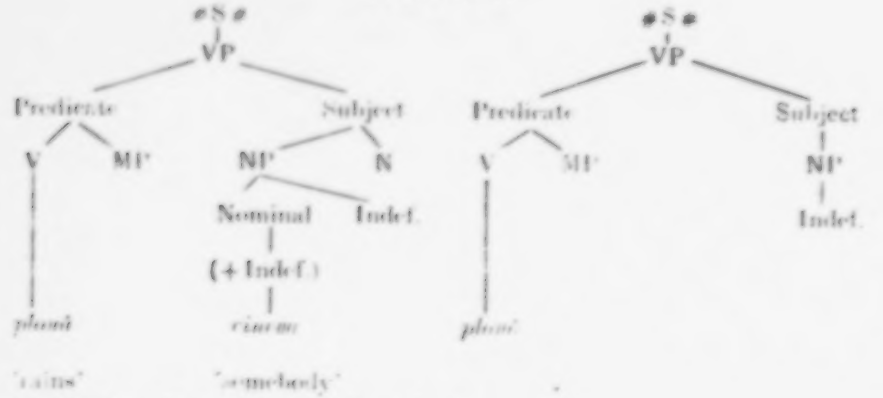
[4] Proposed rules for hierarchy in subject selection and surface case allocation will be shown later.

[5] See Part III on Romanian Impersonal Sentences.

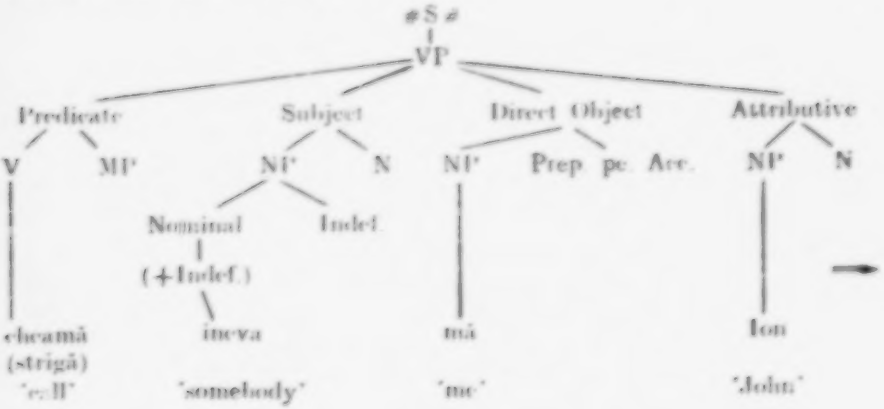
The analyses of sentences *Plouă* and *Mă cheamă Ion*.

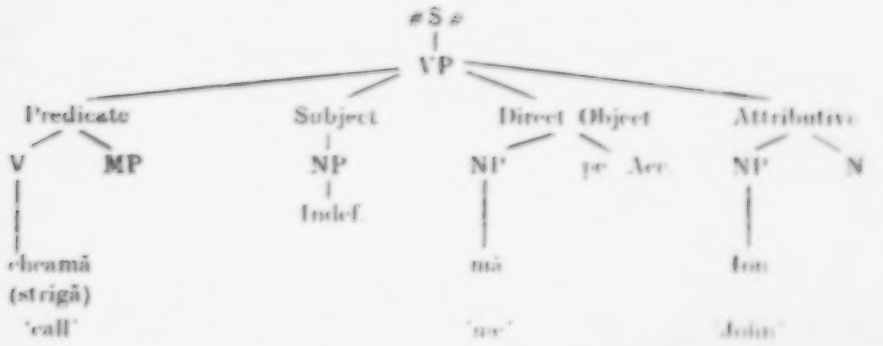
(a) *Plouă*. 'It rains'.

N. Indef. = Ø



(b) *Mă cheamă Ion*. 'Thehy call me Jon'





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The author of the article further adds:

> "Such utterances as *Mi se spune Ion*, *Mi se zice Ion*, (I am called John), *Mă numesc Ion* (My name is John) are not included in the category of utterances obtained through the application of the indefiniteness transformation, though, semantically, they are similar to *imi zice Ion*, *imi spune Ion*, *Mă strigă Ion*, *Mă cheamă Ion*, containing like the latter a denominating verb" (1971 : 128).

In addition to being cumbersome, the above analysis mistakenly lumps together two different types of sentences and fails to show similarities where they occur. In the framework of case grammar where subject-object division is irrelevant in deep structure, sentences of the type "It rains" would be shown to contain a deep case relation O (entity which moves) which in both Russian and Romanian does not appear in surface structure when the verb is marked impersonal (6.3.1). The second sentence (b) has an underlying agent, which, while deleted, is contained in the verb form, as it is in this type of sentence in Russian. It would be much more interesting to show why with some verbs there is a surface structure accusative (similar to the Russian construction of this type) and with others a dative, and whether the underlying relationship in both cases is that of O, and only the surface case varies from one predicator to another.

1.3. The examples of syntactic analyses given above illustrate an approach based on the use of syntactic data from individual languages, rather than crosslinguistic phenomena. The fragmentary grammar concerning impersonal sentences presented in the following chapters uses data taken from two languages and will be analysed according to case grammar principles. These principles are founded on the assumption that while there are superficial processes by which languages assign surface cases, the concords between verbs and certain surface cases are language specific, in their deep structure the propositional nucleus of sentences in all languages consists of a Predicator and one or more NP's, each having a separate case relationship to the Predicator (Fillmore 1968a : 51).

II. THE IMPERSONAL SENTENCE IN RUSSIAN

2.0. Russian grammarians classify Russian sentence types according to their *degree of lichnost'* (from personal to impersonal) and *sostav* (one or two members). Both classifications obscure similarities and differences in the attempt to group the great variety of Russian sentence types neatly. In the most recent grammar of the Soviet Academy (*Grammatika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moscow 1970) the chapter on the simple sentence lists 51 possible structure schemes. Of these only 4 are of the NP^VP type with subject predicate agreement, and in one of these 4, where VP→Aux NP, the auxiliary

est' 'to be' is omitted in the present tense; in the past and future tenses there can be changes in the formal agreement:

present	future/past
(a) *on učitel'* 'he is a teacher'	*on budet/byl učitelem byl učitel'* 'he will be/was a teacher'[6]

The rest of the possible sentence types exhibit different degrees of non-agreement between subject and predicate or complete absence of either one or the other main *člen* 'member'. This seeming departure from an ideal two-member subject predicate relation is discussed at length by Russian grammarians and logicians,[7] who try to correlate sentence with proposition by using terms like logical, psychological, logico-grammatical in contrast to actual subject and predicate.

2.1. A clear-cut division between one and two-member sentences is obscured in Russian by the fact that a grammatical subject (noun, pronoun, or adjective in the nominative) is not always required in the surface structure.

2.1.1. With verbs inflected in the first and second person, where the verb ending clearly indicates person and number, the subject can be omitted in dialogue:

(a) *pojdu teper' v gorod, a potom pogovorim*	'I am going downtown now, we'll talk later'
(b) *znaju, vyjdeš', zabudeš'*	'I know, you'll go out, you'll forget'

2.1.2. In the imperative the subject is deleted: 2 sing. or plural *kupi* 'buy it', *zajdite* 'come in'; 1 plural *edem* 'let's go'; 3 sing. or plural in the special construction with *pust', pust' pojdet, pojdut* 'let him/them go'.[8]

2.1.3. In dialogue and, in connected discourse, sometimes, third person subject also can be omitted, but the predicate agrees with some previous mentioned subject, and such sentences, although incomplete, are considered two member sentences.

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[6] The Russian examples were all checked in the following dictionaries: Akademÿa Nauk SSSR (1957), Akademija Nauk SSSR (1970), Smirnitsky, A. I. (1966).

[7] Kolšanskij (1965); Panfilov (1971); Popow (1956); and Česnokov (1961), to name just a few.

[8] In modal sentences one can have an imperative in form, though not in content, with surface subject shown: *Ne kupi ona xleba, my vse umerli by* "If she hadn't bought bread, we would all have died"

2.1.4. Then again, in two member sentences of the type NP^VP where VP→V (flexional), there is the problem of a break in agreement between subject and predicate, both in number and gender. Quantity words (nouns, indefinite pronouns or numerals), whether followed or not by genitive, can take a verb in either the singular or the plural in the present/future tense, and in the past either agree with the verb in gender and number or take the neuter singular.

(a) *dvoe idet/idut*	'the two are going'
(b) *pjat' čelovek prišli/prišlo*	'five people came'
(c) *skol'ko gusej leteli/letelo?*	'how many geese were flying'
(d) *bol'šinstvo smotreli/smotrelo*	'the majority looked'
(e) *blox okazalas' (okazalis') ujma*	'it turned out that there were lots of fleas'

Russian grammarians consider this a case of formal as against logical agreement dependent (in some instances) on word order. Galkina-Fedoruk (1958: 102) suggests that the cases of non-agreement (singular, neuter) belong to the "category of state" and undergo similar change as the following:

(a) *naexali gosti* (with agreement)	'the guests arrived'
(b) *naexalo gostej* (without agreement)	'there was a situation in which guests had arrived'
(a) *sobralsja narod*	'a crowd gathered'
(b) *sobralos' narodu*	'there was a situation in which a crowd gathered'

According to Galkina-Fedoruk "category of state" is characteristic of impersonal constructions which describe the state of nature, surroundings, and the physical or psychological condition of a living being:

personal	impersonal
(a) *ja xorošo živu*	(b) *mne xorošo živetsja*

Although both sentences are translatable as 'I live well', the second implies a general state in which the experiencer finds himself.

Miller (1970 : 9) talking about stative verbs in Russian comments:

> "The most interesting phenomenon involving stative verbs in a way which is not possible for sentences with other types of verbs... The crucial fact is that the animate noun turns up in the dative case..."

One can add to his observation that with the addition of particle *sja* (to be discussed in Chapter VI) active verbs can become stative (non-active) (Clark, 1971), when the agent is absent:

(a) *ja pokazal* 'I showed...'
(b) *mne pokazalos'* 'it seemed to me'

2.2 Given the above facts about the language: the absence of auxiliary "to be" in the present tense, the possibility of leaving out the subject and flexible agreement,[9] what is actually meant by one member sentence, and what kind of one member sentences are considered impersonal? Keeping in mind the difficulties and questions an attempt at making clear cut division might raise, simply for the purpose of illustrating and delimiting the material I wish to discuss, I will try to arrange possible sentence types along an axis of definiteness as suggested by Babajceva (1968). Taking as the most definite a two member personal sentence in which the subject is a concrete noun and the predicate a finite verb with personal endings and as the least definite an exclamatory sentence expressed by an interjection, the following sentence types could be enumerated (using the accepted nomenclature found in Russian grammars).

2.2.1. On the borderline between two and one member sentences are situated definite personal sentences where the subject, although not shown, can be deduced from the text (they were discussed in 2.1.1).

2.2.2. In *indefinite personal* sentences, the agent (plural) although not named is implied and the predicate is a finite verb with third person plural ending (considered personal ending as against third person singular present/future or neuter singular past which are called impersonal endings). Because the subject never appears in surface structure this type of sentence is classed as a one member sentence. In meaning and use it is similar to the French *on dit* type of sentence.

(a) *postučali v dver'* 'somebody knocked at the door'
on frappe à la porte
(b) *vam govorjat* 'You're being told'
"they're telling you"
on vous dit
(c) *teper' strojat mnogo domov* 'many houses are built now'
"they're building many houses now"
on fait bâtir beaucoup de maisons maintenant

2.2.3. In *generalized personal* sentences the subject, also, never appears in the surface structure. The agent is generalized, and the finite verb is mainly

[9] In the aforementioned Academy grammar (1970) 13 'schemes' are shown for sentences with broken agreement and 28 'schemes' for one member sentences.

in the second person singular present/future tense, "the unmarked personal ending" according to Jakobson (1966a : 26), but it can be in other persons as well. Generalized personal sentences are genre bound, they are used in proverbs, exhortations. Stylistically, the second person can be substituted for first person in narrative for a general human experience effect.

(a) *pospešiš' — ljudej nasmešiš'*	'haste makes waste' "you will hurry — you will make people laugh"
(b) *vek živi, vek učiš' . a durakom umreš'*	'you can live and learn a hundred years and die a fool' "live a century, learn a century you will die as a fool"
(c) *v vkusax ne sporjat*	'de gustibus non disputandum' "in tastes (they) don't argue"

While some grammarians differentiate between the above as I have shown,[10] others group the indefinite and the generalized personal sentences together. Šaxmatov considers them a variation of personal sentences in which the subject is omitted and calls them "subjectless sentences with inflected verbs" (1963 : 64 - 81). Structurally they do not differ from two member sentences and offer just another example where the surface subject can be left out.

2.3. Subjectless sentences in which the predicate is expressed by a finite verb with an impersonal ending, by the infinitive, by various kinds of predicative words, and in which the subject is either left out, or is in an oblique case, are called impersonal. The criteria for their classification varies from grammar to grammar: semantic, morphological or syntactic. Using a combination of all three. I will try to enumerate them briefly and to point out, at the same time, the deep-lying role relations which they have in common.

2.4. *Impersonal sentences with verbal predicate*

2.4.1. Predicate expressed by "defective verb" which can only have impersonal forms, or by "personal" verbs used impersonally (third person singular present/future or neuter singular past).

2.4.1.1. *State of surroundings and nature.*

Can express locative (P) and temporal (T) relations.

(a) (*na dvore*) *svetleet*	'dawn is breaking'
P	"(outside) it's getting lighter"
(b) (*včera*) *doždilo*	'(yesterday) was a rainy day'
T	"(yesterday) it rained"

Limited lexical group, low functional load, non-productive.

[10] A. M. Peškovskij (1956), Akademija Nauk (1960), Galkina-Fedoruk (1964).

2.4.1.2. *State resulting from natural phenomenon or inanimate force* which has to be shown in surface structure in instrumental case. Potebnja (1958) noted that the instrumental case expresses in these type of sentences the inanimate cause and can never have an agent, being therefore different from the instrumental in passive constructions. This type of sentences can express the object moved (O) P. and T. relations.

(a) *(v mae) molnej svalilo* '(in May) a cherry tree (in the garden) was
T C felled by lightning'
višnju (v sadu) "it knocked down with lightning"
O P

(b) *paxlo smoloj* 'it smelled of tar'[11]
C

2.4.1.3. *Psychological or physical state of living beings* can be expressed by verb standing alone, or, it can show the entity experiencing the state in the accusative for physical states, dative for psychological states. It can enter in P, T, and C relations.

(a) *menja znobit* 'I am feverish, I am shivering'
O "it shivers me"

(b) *menja vsju znobit* 'all of me is shivering'
O

(c) *menja tošnit* 'it nauseates me'
O

(d) *(u menja) (ot znoja) zvenelo v golove*
P C P
'the heat made my head buzz'
"from the heat it was ringing in my head"

(e) *emu l'stit* he is flattered' (not Passive in R)
E "to him it flatters"

(f) *menja strašilo* 'I was frightened' (not Passive in R)
E "to me it frightened"[12]

In the last example, the E appears in SS accusative, contrary to the customary dative with psychological verbs. Also, in *ja bojus'* 'I am afraid', E is in SS nominative. Fillmore comments on the possible differences in interpreting case relationships with verbs belonging to this lexical group in English (1971c : 262). Both in Russian and Romanian there is a whole system of active and pseudo-reflexive verbs and nominal constructions dealing with 'fear', which will be discussed later (6.5).

[11] Russian has two verbs for 'to smell', *'paxnut'* — non-active and *njuxat'* — active (see Clark 1971).

[12] In future the literal translations which render the exact grammatical term will be omitted with the exception of those cases where it might be relevant.

2.4.1.4. *State resulting from supernatural powers* E is in dative case and animate O in accusative.

(a) *mne vezet v karty* 'I am lucky at cards'
E G

(b) *ee manilo tuda* 'she was enticed there'
O G

2.4.2. *Verbs ending in sja, S'* state of nature, surroundings can show P and T relations:

nad bolotom zasinelos'
P
'the sky became clear over the swamp'
(dusk was falling)
"it was blueing"

2.4.2.2. Same as 2.4.1.3 above, psychological or physical state of living being, E or animate O relations in SS dative.

(a) *mne nezdorovitsja* I don't feel well' as against *ja nezdorov*
O 'I am unwell'

(b) *mne (zdes') nravitsja* 'I like it (here)'
E P

(c) *pomutilos' u nego v glazax* 'his vision became blurred'
P

In examples 2.4.1.3 and 2.4.2.2 we have in surface structure what would appear as two P relations, a locative with preposition *v* 'in' and a genitive with preposition *u* similar in meaning to the French *chez*:

u menja	'at me' "*chez moi*"	*v golove*	'in the head'
u nego	'at him'	*v glazax*	'in the eyes'

With body parts, the entity to which the body part belongs does not have to be overt in surface structure. When overt, the "possessor" of the body part and the body part are considered as one "location". (The view of possessives as locatives in English was expressed by Lyons (1967 : 390 - 396) and by Fillmore, who analyses the verb 'to have' as one of the surface manifestations of the verb 'to be' (1968a : 47)).

2.4.2.3. Like 2.4.1.4 above, *state resulting from supernatural powers.* (E) when shown in the surface structures is in dative.

(a) *mal'čikam posčastlivilos'* 'the boys were lucky'
(b) *slučilos'* 'it happened'[13]
(c) *polučilos'* 'it came to pass'

[13] *Slučit'sja, slučat'sja* 'happen' as an impersonal verb with experiencer in surface

2.4.2.4. *State pertaining to phenomena which appear to lie outside the domain of physical law.* (E) appears in the surface structure in the dative case.

(a) *emu čuditsja*	'it seems to him that he sees (or hears)'
(b) *mne snitsja*	'I dream'
(c) *ej grezitsja*	'she sees as in a reverie'

2.4.2.5. *State of predisposition with pseudo-reflexives.* Verbs in this group, whether active, non-active, or psychological have a corresponding form without *sja*. When used without *sja*, the respective A, O or E appears in SS nominative, when they are used with *sja*, in dative.

(a) *ja verju* E	'I believe'
(b) *mne veritsja* E	'I am inclined to believe'
(c) *včera ja guljal* T O	'yesterday I celebrated'
(d) *včera mne guljalos'* T O	'yesterday I really celebrated'
(e) *my rabotali* A	'we worked'
(f) *nam (xorošo) rabotalos'* A (legko) (ploxo)	'we worked well' 'with ease' 'badly'

---

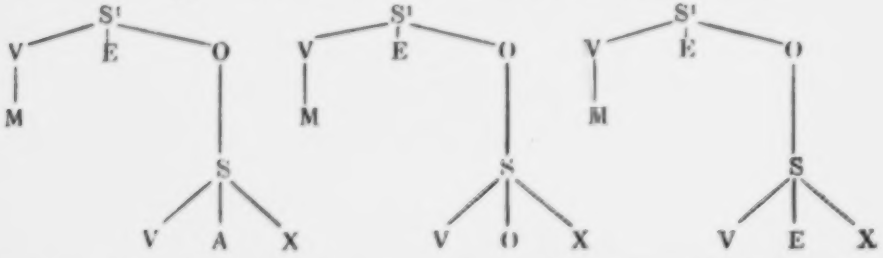
structure dative is usually followed by the infinitive, and no other relationship is posited:
(a) *emu slučilos' pobyvat' tam* "It happened that he had occasion to spend some time there"
(b) *nam slučalos' vstretit'sja* "We happened to meet on occasions" When the cause or content of the 'happening' appears, the experiencer, which can be coreferential with the
(b) *nam slučalos' vstretit'sja* "We happened to meet on occasions" When the cause or content of the 'happening' appears, the experiencer, which can be coreferential with the entity that undergoes a state (object), is in SS instrumental. The verb, though defective (permits only 3 sg. and pl.), agrees in gender and number with the SS subject. Place and time relationships can also be shown.
(c) *čto s vami slučilos'?* "what happened to you?"
O E=O
(d) *s mirom ničego ne slučilos'* "nothing happened to the world"
O C
(e) *s nimi slučilas' bol'šaja beda* "a great misfortune has happened to them"
O
(f) *s nej večno slučajutsja raznyje istorii* "All kinds of things happen forever to her"
O T
(g) *čto slučilos' u vas?* "what happened at your place?"
C P
(h) *včera, v gorode slučilsja požar* "a fire happened yesterday in town" (for the formationalization of verbs in *sja* see 6.2.1., 6.2.2.)

vot nam rabotalos' 'how we worked'
A
nam ne rabotalos' 'we just couldn't work'

The modality is especially pronounced in the negative

(g) *ja ne spal* 'I didn't sleep'
O
mne ne spalos' 'I just couldn't get to sleep'
O

NOTE: The particle *sja* lends to these verbs a psychological prediapositional nuance of being in a mood, enjoying or disliking one's state or activity. As E. Růžičková (1971 : 206) notes, discussing another Slavic language, "the agent himself evaluates his action". The active verbs are often qualified in Russian by manner adverbials (which are obligatory in Slovak; in Russian either particles, intonation or negation are sufficient). Růžičková proposes an analysis in which the sentence is embedded in an evaluative sentence with adverb of manner as predicator, an E and the embedded sentence under O. Her deep structure (proposed mainly for active verbs with manner adverbials) can be adjusted for all three types of verbs in Russian a) active, b) nonactive, c) psychological. Under V in upper sentence one would show the modality element.



The rules shown in her paper would perform all the necessary operations to get from DS into SS (Růžičková 1971 : 207).

2.4.2.6. *Passive with agent not named*, similar to indefinite personal sentences but with greater degree of indefiniteness, semantically belonging to elocutionary verbs. Verbs in this group have a corresponding form without "*sja*". G when shown, which is seldom in this type of sentences, is in dative (the accepted surface case for animate G).

	Indefinite sentence	Impersonal sentence
(a)	*govorjat* 'it is said'	*govoritsja* 'the saying is'
	"(they) say"	"it is said"
(b)	*pozvoljali zdes' žit'*	*pozvoljalos' zdes' žit'*
	P	
	'it was permitted to live here'	
	"they permitted"	"it was permitted"

Sentences of this type are used in notices:

Po trave xodit' vospreščaetsja 'It is forbidden to walk on the grass'
P

2.4.3. *Verbal predicate expressed by infinitive.* There has been a lot of discussion by Russian grammarians on the nature of the infinitive and its syntactic functions. Some grammars, among them the latest Soviet Academy Grammar (1970) consider that it can occupy the subject slot in two member sentences of the type Inf-Verb, Inf-Aux NP,

(a) *kurit' zapreščaetsja* 'smoking prohibited'
"to smoke is forbidden"

(b) *kurit' vredno* 'it is harmful to smoke'

while *zapreščaetsja kurit'* 'it is forbidden to smoke' is an impersonal sentence in which the infinitive is a verb phrase complement.

The Academy Grammar shows more schemes with infinitive supposedly in subject position:

(a) *žit' tak žit'* 'if one must live then one should live well'

(b) *žit' kak žit'* 'if one must live then one might as well accept it'

As can be seen from the last two examples the infinitive introduces modality. This is one of the main functions of the infinitive when used independently and not as complementation.

Russian has no subjunctive or optative. It has only a modal particle *by*, and a conditional conjunction *esli* 'if'. Modality can be expressed by infinitive (with or without *by*).

Galkina-Fedoruk (1958) cites 10 types of infinitive sentences expressing different shades of modality. A few random examples will suffice:

(a) *byt' emu v raju* 'he wishes he were in heaven'
E "to be for him in Paradise"

(b) *ne rasti trave* 'grass could not grow'
O

(c) *prinesti mne?* 'should I bring it?'
A=E

(d) *emu li žalovat'sja?* 'why should he be complaining?'
A=E

(e) *tebe li ne pet'?* 'who else should sing but you?'
A=E

(f) *dožit'* (*nam*) 'to be able to live until then'
O

(g) *emu u nas ne rabotat'* 'he will never have occasion to work for us'
A=E

(h) *tebe by pomoč' nam* 'you should be the one to help us'
A=E

(i) *vernut'sja by emu zdorovym* 'to be able to return healthy'
A=E

or with the infinitive not shown in surface structure, and the modality expressed by particle *by*

(j) *deneg by nam pobol'še* 'how good it would have been, had we had more money'.[14]
E

An analysis on the lines of the one proposed for Predisposition Pseudo-Reflexives could be used here, embedding in a higher sentence with psychological or modal verbs such as wonder, believe, wish, should, or modal predicative words (2.5.2), which as a rule can only take a verb in infinitive. (I will return to this in 6.4.4).

Šaxmatov (1963) sees in the infinitive only the name of a verbal sign without reference to an agent and further refers to it as describing a state, likening it to an adjective. If one were to accept this analysis and make the role of A in these sentences coreferential with O or E, one could say that what characterizes the impersonal sentences discussed so far is the absence of an agent. On this assumption I will proceed with my description of impersonal sentences in Russian.

2.4.4. Before discussing the type of sentence in which the verb 'to be' appears strictly as an auxiliary: zero form in the present; *byl, bylo, byla, byli* in the past, and *budet, budut* in the future, I should mention the *existential* sentences in which the verb *est'* appears in SS meaning 'exists, exist, there is, there are'. The past tense appears in the impersonal form *bylo* and for future there is only the singular form *budet*. The entity, the existence of which is affirmed, can appear in SS genitive (partitive or quantitative genitive). In this case, because of their form they are classed by some grammarians with impersonal sentences. When they contain an SS nominative they are considered personal sentences:

(a) *est' xleba i mjasa* 'there is some bread and butter'
(b) *bylo narodu* 'there was a crowd'
(c) *takova dobra est' u nas* 'such wealth we have'
(d) *u menja est' otec i mat'* 'I have a mother and a father'

[14] The last two examples are from Jakobson (1966 : 75) who notes "die Schicksalgabe kann dabei als Wunsch oder Befürchtung des Sprechenden geschildert werden".

2.4.5. The existential negative sentence with *net, ne bylo, ne budet* requires SS genitive for the entity whose existence is negated. This type of sentence is considered by all grammarians as impersonal.

(a) *u menja net otca (materi)*	'I have no father (mother)'
(b) *net vremeni*	'there is no time'
(c) *ne bylo u menja deneg*	'I had no money'
(d) *davno takoj grozy ne bylo*	'there hasn't been such a storm for a long time'

Galkina-Fedoruk (1958 : 195) while giving examples of negative impersonal constructions with other semantic groups of verbs notes that "it is inconceivable to have negative impersonal constructions with concrete verbs expressing actions of a person". As we noted before, there can not be an A role in the DS of an impersonal sentence.

2.5.0. *Nominal Predicate.* Impersonal (subjectless) sentences with the heaviest functional load are those which express state and modality. They contain a part of speech formally characterized by the ending "o" (similar to the ending of adverbs and neuter short form adjectives). They are referred to as adverbs,[15] category of state (Galkina-Fedoruk 1964), and predicatives or predicative words (Isačenko 1956). They can be used with or without negative. Semantically they can be divided as referring to:

2.5.1. *State of nature and surroundings, physical or psychological state of living beings* with or without reference to an experiencer E or O or animate O in Dative. They can have P and T relations.

(a) *pasmurno*	'it is cloudy'
(b) *skučno*	'it is boring'
(c) *teplo*	'it is warm'
(d) *v komnate teplo*	'the room is warm'
P	(it is warm in the room)
(e) *mne teplo*	'I am warm'
O	
(f) *mne bol'no*	'it hurts me'
O	
(g) *mne veselo*	'I am having a good time'
E	

or they can take infinitive complementation:

(h) *mne prijatno čitat'*	'reading gives me pleasure'
E	"to read is pleasurable to me"

[15] Akademija Nauk SSSR (1960) and most of the school grammars.

2.5.2. *Modality*. We saw that some shades of modality can be conveyed by infinitive sentences, but the most common way of expressing obligation, necessity, permission, possibility, impossibility, is by modal predicative words (they end in "*o*", with the exception of *nel'zja*). They form an impersonal construction with auxiliary (for tense) and can be followed by infinitive. The entity expressing the above states is in the surface Dative case. The words *nado, nužno, neobxodimo* meaning 'need, necessity' can enter in D relations expressed by prep. *dlja*+Genitive. (There is also a personal construction with *dolžen, dolžna, dolžno, dolžny* 'must'. The impersonal *mne dolžno* can be found in written literary and official styles).

(a) *možno* 'it is permitted'
(b) *možno skazat'* 'one could say'
(c) *mne nužno čitat'* 'I must read'
E
(d) *nel'zja* 'must not'
(e) *nel'zja skazat'* 'it's impossible to say, one can't say'
(f) *mne etogo nel'zja* 'this is forbidden to me'
E
(g) *mne nado bylo masla* 'I needed some butter' [16]
E
(h) *emu neobxodimo* 'it's necessary for him'
E
(i) *neobxodimo dlja nego* 'it's necessary for him'
D

2.5.2.1. A limited group of nouns expressing emotional valuation or necessity connected with time can also enter in similar impersonal constructions (mostly followed by infinitive).

(a) *mne žal' kupit'* 'I regret having to buy'
E
(b) *mne žal' ee* 'I have pity for her'
E G
(c) *styd skazat'* 'it is shameful to say it'
(d) *mne len' rabotat'* 'I don't feel like working'
E
(e) *pora nam idti* 'it's time for us to go'
E

[16] Sentences (f) and (g) do not have surface subject, negation and partial quantity requiring 88 genetive.

2.5.2.2. The small group of impersonal modal verbs expressing obligation are now outdated, encountered only in written official language. They are followed by infinitive and take a SS dative for the entity experiencing the obligation. Still in use are *sleduet*, *stoit*:

(a) *vam sleduet učit'sja*	'you ought to study'
E	
(b) *stoit emu tol'ko sprosit'*	'he needs only to inquire'
E	

2.5.3. *Predicate expressed by past passive participle short form neuter.* To justify the inclusion of this type of construction among impersonal sentences with nominal predicates it is argued (Šaxmatov 1963; Galkina-Fedoruk 1958) that the past passive participle, short form, depicts a finished process which has become established as a state and can be regarded as a stative adjective. This construction is impersonal because it lacks a subject in nominative and the auxiliary in the past and future tenses is in the impersonal form *"bylo, budet"*. Its derivational history is different from those discussed previously. It is a passive construction with undefined agent. According to the rules of passive transformation, the surface nominative of the active construction appears in the surface instrumental case of the passive construction. It is interesting to note that when C or I occupies the subject slot in the active sentence it can appear in the surface structure of the past passive participle in the instrumental, but if it is an agent A it cannot.[17]

Indefinite personal	Passive impersonal
(a) *xorošo skazali*	*xorošo bylo skazano*
"they said"	'it was well said'
(b) *veleli vsex zaderživat'*	*veleno bylo vsex zaderživat'*
'it was ordered that everybody should be stopped'	
"they ordered"	
Personal active	Impersonal passive
(c) *voda zalila (pogreb)*	*vodoj bylo zalito*
I	I
'water flooded (the cellar)'	'it was flooded (by water)'
(d) *oni ukazali na ošibku*	*bylo ukazano na ošibku*
A G	G
they pointed to the mistake'	'attention was drawn to the mistake'

2.6. The so-called *nominal one-member sentences* are sentences which lack a VP constituent: autumn, rain, fallen leaves, Fire!, Lots of roses. Peškovskij

[17] Akademija Nauk SSSR (1960, vol. II, part 2 : 38).

(1956) suggested that they are two member sentences with the predicate expressed by intonation. Šaxmatov (1963) calls them subject-predicateless sentences, but, as Steblin-Kamenskij (1956) points out, if by subject is meant that part of a sentence with which the grammatical predicate stands in a predicative relation, if there is no predicate, how can there be a subject?

Steblin Kamenskij (1956 : 134) suggested they should be called non-predicative sentences. But without a predicate there can be no role relationship either. At best, I would consider them elliptic; they depend on the written context, on intonation, on the context of situation and would have to be analyzed in each instance differently.

III. THE IMPERSONAL SENTENCE IN ROMANIAN

3.0. While every Russian grammar contains a well-defined chapter on impersonal sentences, very few Romanian grammars accord this type more than a few cursory remarks. Of the grammars listed in the attached Bibliography, only Sandfeld and Olsen's (1962 : III, 25 - 40) gives a fair number of examples in the sub-chapters "Sujet inexprimé" and "Sujet personnel indéterminé".

Alphonse Juilland, in his frequency count of 803 Romanian verbs,

> from a corpus of 500,000 words, selected from the works of representative authors from newspapers and magazines, as well as from technical literature (1971 : 43)

does not make any mention of 'impersonal' or 'inflectionally deficient' verbs, although eighth in frequency is the impersonal verb *trebuie* '*il faut*, must, need' and third in frequency *poate* 'can' which is widely used in its impersonal form *se poate* 'it is possible, it is permitted'.

The general attitude towards impersonal constructions seems to be expressed by Sever Pop:

> à l'aide du verbe fi 'être' on forme des locutions nombreuses: mi-e milă "j'ai pitié", mi-e ruşine "j'ai honte", mi-e teamă "j'ai peur", e păcat "c'est dommage". Nous avons l'impression que les patois font un plus grand usage de ces locutions que la langue littéraire (1948 : 407).

3.1. Before attempting to arrange the Romanian impersonal constructions into a model similar to that used for Russian, some morphological differences in their respective case systems should be noted. The declensional system of Rus[18] has six surface cases, nominative, genetive, dative, accusative, instrumental and prepositional. Not all surface cases are marked by distinctive endings, their number varies according to declension type, sub-class and gender:

[18] From now on Russian and Romanian are referred to as Rus and Rom, respectively. (editor's note)

Table I

Type of declension		Number of distinctive case endings	
		Singular	*Plural*
Nominal declension			
nouns I		5	5
nouns II		3	5
personal pronouns		4	4
cardinal numerals I		2 - 3	4 - 5
Adjectival declension			
adjectives	masc. and neuter	5	4
ordinal numerals	fem.	3	
participles			
Mixed declension			
pronouns possessive adjectives and nouns	masc. and neuter	5	4
	fem.	3	
cardinal numerals II			

The nominative plural can be homonymous with the genetive singular, also, for a sub-class of masculine nouns, there are 2 forms each for genetive and for prepositional. The nominative does not take a preposition, the prepositional always follows a preposition, the other cases can appear with or without a preposition. There are 37 prepositions which govern one case each, 6 which can take two cases, 2 with three cases and about 10 adverbial expressions used as prepositions. In Rom the surface cases are not as well marked as in Rus.

Table II

Type of declension		Number of distinctive endings	
		Singular	*Plural*
article		2	2
noun	(masc. neuter)	1	1
	(feminine)	2	1
adjective	(masc. neuter		
	fem. I)	1	1
	(fem. II)	2	1
personal pronoun		3	2 (3 enclitic)
pronoun		2	2

While grammars (e.g. Academia RSR 1966 : 81 - 95) refer to 5 surface cases: nominative, genetive, dative, accusative and vocative, formally one can distinguish at most only 3 case endings. The vocative, semantically limited to certain classes of nouns (animate, personified an'mate) is being replaced in contemporary Rom by nominative and need not concern us further.

All syncretize | Nominative Accusative | Genitive Dative |

with the exception of personal pronouns which have different endings for nominative and accusative. This is why, when one wants to determine the case of a noun, I. Iordan (1967 : 93) advises to substitute pronouns for nouns and where this is imposible as in

l—a numit profesor 'he was named professor'

different solutions are put forward. Sextil Pușcariu (1940 : 144) proposes a "non-case" called "general" which expresses the nominal idea without any grammatical relationship. Hořejši (1960 : 495) would call it "direct" case, a zero form in which the opposition between Nominative and Accusative is neutralized, P. Diaconescu (1962 : 32) calls it "neuter" case. (The above is an indefinite personal sentence with A, O and G).

Genitive and dative are considered by some grammarians (Sandfeld-Olsen 1936 Vol. I : 62) as one case "genitive-dative", their distribution and functions being complementary: genitive, determining nouns and dative,

> destinația acțiunii, pentru cine, în folosul sau paguba cui, de obicei o persoană sau un lucru asimilat cu persoane "the goal of the action, for whom, to whose benefit or loss, usually a person or a thing assimilated to a person" (Iordan 1967 : 96).

There is also an (old) dative locative with limited distribution and an instrumental dative preceded by the prepositions:

datorită, grație, mulțumită 'due to, thanks to'

which are the only prepositions which can be followed by the dative. In all, Rom has about 40 prepositions, most of which take the accusative, the case with the greatest functional load of all the surface cases. The case of the surface subject is nominative with a few exceptions. Showing quantity Prep. *la*+Accusative:

au venit la oameni 'a lot of people have arrived'[19]

[19] The Rom examples have been taken from the grammars and textbooks shown in the bibliography and have been checked in the following dictionaries: Academia Republicii Populare Romîne (1958); Levițchi, L. (1971); Korlățeanu, N. G. (1967); Academia Republicii Socialiste România (1971). The usage of these examples have been confirmed by native speakers Iona and Constantin Mărutescu.

or in subordinate sentences, presenting an interesting example of pronoun deletion:

(a) *o dau, cui vrea s-o ia*	'I give it to whom [unmarked!] wants to take it'
(b) *îl trimit, pe care termină mai repede* *cui* — dative, *pe care*	'I [am] send[ing] the one [who] finish[es] first [verbs in pres.]' — accusative

Other examples cited in grammars:

(c) *începură cu toți a mînca*	'they started with all to eat' ['all started at the same time']

as against:

(d) *toți începură a mînca*	'they all started to eat'

or ellipsis:

(e) *ai casei au venit, a lui a întîrziat*	'of the house have arrived, his was late' 'those (belonging) in the house have arrived, but his kin was late'

3.2.1. All that must be noted, at this point, about the Rom verb, is the fact that the desinences of all the finite forms show number and person, with the exception of the auxiliary of the past compound tense, where the form for the first singular = the first plural. Therefore, in the first and second person the surface subject is a marked category to avoid ambiguity:

(a) *ați citit această carte?*	'have you (plural or polite form) read this book?'
(b) *eu n-am citit-o*	'I haven't read it'
(c) *noi n-am citit-o*	'We haven't read it'

The third person can also be omitted in dialogue

(d) *m-a asigurat că nu a văzut-o*	'he assured me he had not seen her'
(e) *ce făcea cînd l-ai strigat?*	'what was he doing when you called him?'

In narrative, one can find whole paragraphs without an overt subject.

(f) *Era un om de teatru. Venise pe lume într-o familie de actori. Fusese sufleur și copist de roluri.*	'He was a man of the theatre, born to a family of actors. He had been a prompter and had transcribed roles. He had lived on the stage and had taken part

Trăise pe scenă şi luase parte la toate spectacolele vremii....	in all the performances of the time'.

3.2.2. Rom is less dependent on overt subject than Rus, the past tense in Rus not being marked for person. Also, the verb *a fi* 'to be', which in Rus has only one form for present, and is as a rule omitted, in Rom has a full paradigm and is only left out for stylistic purposes in poetry.

ea, un înger ce să roagă- el, un demon ce visează (Eminescu) 'she, an angel who prays- he, a demon who dreams'

As we have seen, in Rom, as in Rus, the surface subject does not have to appear when it is deducible from either the verbal form or from context. One would expect, therefore, to find sentences in which the subject is left unmentioned.

3.3. In Rom, *generalized personal sentences* have the same structure as those in Rus as well as having the same function and distribution. They appear in proverbs, exhortations, directions. The verb, mostly in second person singular, can be, also, in first person plural:

(a) *dacă vrei, poţi*	'if you want to, you can'
(b) *mîncăm ca să trăim...*	'we eat to live...'
(c) *îndată ce intri, vezi*	'as you go in, you see'

3.4. zn *indefinite personal sentences*, the verb is in third person singular, with or without the reflexive particle *se*

(a) *ne duce pe front*	'they are taking us to the front'
(b) *spune la sfînta carte*	'they say in the Holy Book'
(c) *se zice, se spune*	'on dit' 'it is said'
(d) *se vede, se ştie*	'on voit, on sait' 'it is seen, known'
(e) *se vorbeşte, se aude, se scrie*	'is spoken, heard, written'

Expressions with particle *se*, followed by a sentential complement, have a very high functional load. The identity of an agent in these types of sentences tends to be vaguer than in those without *se*, as can be seen from the following example:

(f) *se zice că-i bate şi-i ţin cu mîncări rele* (Slavici)	'it is said that they beat them and keep them badly fed'

The particle *se* in the above examples changes the verbs from *personal into impersonal*. As such they can only have the third person singular form. The stative (nonactive) verbs in our examples *vede, aude, ştie* 'see, hear, know'

can have also a personal reflexive form *se vede, se aude, se ştie, se* in this instance being the accusative case of the reflexive pronoun.

(g) *eu mă văd, el se vede* 'I see myself, he sees himself'
A O A O

besides the impersonal

(h) *se vede* 'it is visible'

3.4.1. In Rom there are two types of reflexives: with accusative and dative reflexive pronouns. In the accusative reflexive there can be an A-O or E-O relation:

(a) (*eu*) *mă duc* 'I go'
A O

(b) (*eu*) *mă îmbrac* 'I dress myself'
A O

(c) (*eu*) *mă gîndesc* 'I think'
E O

(d) *el se miră* 'he wonders'
E O

while with the dative reflexive there is an A-D or E-D relation:

(e) (*eu*) *îmi fac* 'I do it for my benefit'
A D

(f) (*tu*) *nu-ţi închipui* 'you can't imagine'
E D

Some verbs can show both types of relationships:

(g) (*eu*) *mă spăl, te spăl* 'I wash myself, I wash you'
A O O

(h) (*eu*) *îmi spăl rufele* 'I wash my clothes [for myself']
A D O

as opposed to the possessive

(i) (*eu*) *spăl rufele tale* 'I wash your clothes'
A O

(j) *îţi spăl rufele* 'I wash your clothes'
D O "I wash clothes for you"

The semantic implication of the dative reflexive as compared to the accusative reflexive has been noted by Sandfeld & Olsen (1962 Vol. III : 123 - 124)

> Le pronom réfléchi (datif) sert à relever que l'action en question a lieu par rapport au sujet ou à son intention... ...son emploi laisse entrevoir un certain degré d'intérêt ou une certaine valeur affective de l'action en question par rapport au sujet.

which is clearly a designative or beneficial relationship. Designative being a broader term will be used henceforth. The examples given, besides verbs of jeering, mocking *a-şi bate joc de*, *a-şi râde de*, contain verbs which can have also accusative reflexive (see above)

(k) *îşi vedeau de treabă* 'they minded their own business'
D O "they saw after the work for themselves"

That designative is a separate relationship from goal as receiver or destination can be seen from the fact that a sentence can show both relationships.

(l) (*el*) *şi-a croit cărare prin grădini pînă la o văduană*
A D O P G
'he made himself a path through the garden to a widow'

or in Rus

(m) *ja dal ej knigu dlja mamy* 'I gave her a book for mother'
A G G

3.4.2. Some of the verbs appearing in impersonal constructions can have both a personal and an impersonal form, others only an impersonal form with or without *se*. The surface case of the O or E, where it can be shown, is in the dative.

(a) *se zvoneşte* 'it's rumored'
(b) *se poate* 'it's possible'
(c) (*mi*) *se cade* 'it's fitting'
(d) (*mi*) *se cuvine* 'it's proper'
(e) (*mi*) *se întîmplă* 'it happens'
(f) *mi se urăşte* 'I am bored'
(g) *mi se pare* 'it seems'
(h) *îmi pare* (*bine*) 'I'm glad'
(i) *îmi pasă* 'I care'
(j) *nu-ni pasă* 'I don't care'
(k) *îmi place* 'I like it'
(l) *îmi şede bine* 'it suits me'
(m) *îmi vine* 'I feel, like, it's easy'
(n) *îmi merge* 'I'm lucky'
(o) *îmi ajunge* 'I have enough'
(p) *îmi arde de glumă* 'I feel like joking'
(q) *îmi trece prin minte* 'I have an idea'
(r) *îmi trebuie* 'I need'
(s) *trebuie* 'I must'

(t) *mi-e de*	'I am in a mood for' 'I want to have something, I desire'

3.5. Another type of impersonal construction refers to meteorological conditions. Most of the verbs in this group are impersonal, some can be used personally in poetry:

viscolul viscolea	'the snoswtorm stormed'

They are quite numerous and have not become obsolete.

(a) *plouă*	'it's raining'
(b) *burează, brumează, burnițează*	'it's drizzling'
(c) *toarnă cu găleata*	'it's pouring' "it's raining buckets"
(d) *rourează*	'dew falls'
(e) *grindină*	'it is hailing'
(f) *fulgeră, trăsnește*	'lightning strikes'
(g) *tună*	'it thunders'
(h) *vremuiește*	'it is bad weather' or 'the weather is breaking'
(i) *ninge, fulguiește*	'it snows'
(j) *viscolește*	'it is a snow storm'
(k) *trage*	'it's draughty'
(l) *se înnorează*	'it becomes cloudy'
(m) *se înserează*	'evening falls'
(n) *se înnoptează*	'it's becoming night'
(o) *se întunecă*	'it's becoming dark'
(p) *se lumina de ziuă* *se amijea, se albia*	'day was breaking'

To express change from one state to another the impersonal form of the verbs *a da* 'give', *a sta* 'stands' and *se face* 'to become' can be used:

(a) *dă în iarnă*	'it's becoming winter'
(b) *stă să ploaie*	'it's going to rain'
(c) *se face noapte, ziuă*	'it becomes, night, day'

3.6. With an animate O which can be interpreted as an E, since it can express both psychological or physical well being, the verb *se face* 'to become' shows a change in a person's state:

mi se face bine, rău, greu	'I am starting to feel well, bad' 'things are becoming difficult for me'

3.7. A person's physical or psychological state is expressed by an impersonal construction with the verb *a fi* 'to be' in the third person singular (any tense) and the animate O or E in surface dative case. Usually in these constructions the shortened form of the verb *e* (for *este*) is used enclitically with the unaccented pronoun form.

(a) *mi-e lene*	'I am lazy'
(b) *mi-e milă*	'I have pity'
(c) *mi-e urît*	'I am bored'
(d) *mi-e dor*	'I long'
(e) *mi-e ciudă*	'I am angry'
(f) *mi-e ruşine*	'I am ashamed'
(g) *mi-e teamă*, *mi-e frică*, *mi-e groază*,	'I am afraid'
(h) *mi-e drag*	'dear to me'
(i) *mi-e grijă*	'I am worried'
(j) *mi-e greu*	'it is hard (for me)'
(k) *mi-e uşor*	'it is easy (for me)'
(l) *mi-e grabă*	'I am in a hurry'
(m) *mi-e la îndemînă*	'it is handy (for me)'
(n) *mi-e somn*	'I am sleepy'
(o) *mi-e bine*	'I feel well'
(p) *mi-e foame*	'I am hungry'
(q) *mi-e sete*	'I am thirsty'
(r) *mi-e cald*	'I am warm'
(s) *mi-e frig*	'I am cold'

3.7.1. Some of the above can be used without mention of E or animate O to a general state or as predicate of a sentential subject (introduced by *că*, *să* or expressed by infinitive or supine).

(a) *e bine, e rău, e adevărat*	'it is good, bad, true'
(b) *e uşor, e lesne, e greu*	'it is easy, hard'
(c) *e cald, e frig, e plăcut*	'it is warm, cold, pleasant'
(d) *e ger, e vînt, e soare,*	'it is freezing, windy, sunny'
(e) *e exclus, e imposibil*	'it's impossible'
(f) *e adevărat, e probabil*	'it's true, probable'
(g) *e sigur, e important*	'it is sure, important'
(h) *e negreşit, e bineînţeles*	'it's without a doubt'

The predicative word can be used alone, without *e*, 'is' *firește*, *neapărat*, *desigur* 'surely', *poate* 'perhaps', *păcat* 'it's a pity', *presumably* 'presumably', *bineînțeles*.

3.8. The third person singular of the verb *a fi* 'to be' can be used impersonally with the meaning of *il y a, c'est* and the temporal *c'était*:

(a) *este niște castraveți în oțet*	'there are some pickled cucumbers'
(b) *mai este*	'there is more of it'
(c) *așa-i*[30]	'it is so'
(d) *nu-i așa? (n'est-ce pas?)*	'isn't it so?'
(e) *era de mult*	'it happened long ago'
(f) *era într-o după amiază*	'it was on an afternoon'
(g) *era un moș și o babă*	'(once) there was an old man and woman'

The verb 'to be' can be also used with the meaning of 'fated':

(a) *a fost să fie așa*	'it was meant to be so'
(b) *n-a fost să mi se întîmple, nu era să-mi fie dat*	'it was not fated to happen'

3.9. The verb *a da* 'give' can also convey this meaning *mi-e dat* 'it is fated'. The verb *a avea* 'to have' can be used impersonally in a negative construction meaning, 'there is nobody at all' with O shown in surface accusative.

(a) *n-are cine mă spăla*	'there is nobody at all to wash me'
(b) *n-are cui să rămîie,*	'there is nobody to whom it could be left'

IV. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND ROMANIAN IMPERSONAL SENTENCES

4.0. The preceding is a broad outline of the impersonal sentences of Romanian; in this chapter I will take the Russian examples and compare them with the Romanian data in an attempt to find a corresponding form. The base is thus taken to be Rus, the comments pertaining to Rom.

4.1.1. Verbal Predicate with or without *sja*, *s* or *se expressing state of surrounding*. (2.4.1.1, 2.4.2.1) There is a larger lexical group in *Romanian* (3.5) with a higher functional load than in Russian. They are discussed and analysed in chapter VI (6.3).

4.1.2. *State resulting from natural phenomenon* (2.4.1.2). The second example 'it smel'ed of tar' is expressed in Romanian by an impersonal sentence: *mirosea*

[30] *i*, short unaccented form of *ea* is used enclitically.

a smoală. Cause is expressed by surface accusative as there is no surface instrumental case in Rom. The difference between an instrumental and passive agentive construction is lost therefore in Rom.

(a) *vișinul a fost trăsnit de fulger* 'the cherry tree was felled by lightning'
O C
(b) *vișinul a fost tăiat de mine* 'the cherry tree was cut by me'
O A

as compared to Rus where (a) is impersonal and (b) passive with SS subject:

(a) *molniej svalilo višnju*
C O
(b) *višnja byla svalena mnoj*
O A

4.1.3. *Psychological or physical state of living beings* (2.4.1.3, 2.4.2.2). The only example having a corresponding impersonal verb form in Rom is 'my head or my ears ring'

(a) *îmi vîjîie în cap* (*capul*)
O P
(b) *îmi țiuie în urechi* (*urechile*)
O P

to be scared, nauseated, unwell are all expressed in Rom impersonally by means of nominal predicates: *mi-e groază, mi-e greață, mi-e rău* (3.7).

4.1.4. *State resulting from supernatural powers* (2.4.1.4, 2.4.2.3). The impersonal verb used in 'the way the cards are falling' must be qualified with amelioratory or derogatory adverbs.

(a) *îmi cade bine în cărți* 'I have good cards'
E=D

There is an impersonal construction for 'to be lucky'

(b) *îi merge* 'he is lucky'
E

Finally 'it happens' impersonal verb with E, when shown in surface dative (3.4.1).

4.1.5. *Phenomena which appear to lie outside the domain of physical law* (2.4.2.4) 'it seems to him... 'has two corresponding impersonal verbs in Rom:

(a) *i se năzărește*
E

(b) *i se năluceşte*
E

'to dream' is a personal verb in Rom.

4.1.6. *Predisposition* (2.4.2.5) is not expressed in Rom by a special verb form as in Rus. It can be expressed by an impersonal dative reflexive form of the verb *a veni* 'come' followed by infinitive or subjunctive, or by the impersonal form of the verb *a fi* 'to be' followed by infinitive.

(a) *îmi vine a crede*	'I am inclined to believe'
(b) *îmi vine să rîd şi să dansez*	'I feel like laughing and dancing'
(c) *mi-e a dormi*	'I am sleepy, I'd like to sleep'

It is customarily used with negative to show disinclination:

(d) *nu-i venea a crede*	'he just couldn't believe it'
(e) *nu-i este a lucru*	'he doesn't feel like working'

The *passive with agent not named* (2.4.2.6) has been discussed in 3.4.

4.1.7. *Verbal predicate expressed by infinitive* (2.4.3) can be used in Rom with negation in notices of prohibition or warning:

(a) *a nu face zgomot*	'quiet, please' "not to make noise"
(b) *a nu se pleca în afară*	'do not lean outside' (railroad notice)
(c) *a se feri de soare*	'beware of the sun'

or in a compound predicate:

(d) *a răspunde bine înseamnă a şti bine*	'to answer well means to know well'

There are no modal infinitive sentences in Rom.

4.1.8. *Existential sentences* (2.4.5) were discussed in 3.8.

4.2. *Nominal predicate*

4.2.1. *State of nature and surroundings, physical, psychological state* (2.5.1). Here we find many identical constructions (3.8)

(a) *este posomorît*	'it is cludy'
(b) *e cald*	'it is warm'
(c) *mi-e cald*	'I am warm' (with surface dative)

The verb 'to hurt' *a durea* is a 'defective' verb with only 3 sing. and pl. It is classed as a personal verb with impersonal uses in constructions

(d) *îl durea să se gîndească* 'it was painful for him to think'
(e) *mă doare capul* 'my head hurts'

We found so far that in Rom both E and animate O experiencing a psychological or physical state was always in surface dative.

With impersonal expressions of localized pain, agent unnamed we found a surface accusative for 0.

(f) *mă strînge în spate* 'my back pulls'
O P
(g) *o înjunghie între coaste* 'she has a stabbing pain between her ribs'
O P
(h) *îl seacă la ficat* 'his liver feels squeezed'
O P

In Russian, similar expressions have a compound surface P.
u menja soset pod ložečkoj 'I have a gnawing pain in the pit of my stomach'
'at me' 'under rib'
It is possible that the same analysis (2.4.2.2) should be proposed for Rom.

4.3. *Modality* (2.5.2). Rom has one impersonal modal verb *trebuie* 'must' or *îmi trebuie* 'I need', (with SS dative) also the verb *a putea* 'can' in its impersonal form *se poate* 'it's possible, it's allowed' and predicative words with or without auxiliary *este, e, i* 'is' (3.7.1).

4.4. *Past passive participle* (2.5.3). Only a limited number of verbs can be used in a passive impersonal construction *a fost spus* 'it was said' *e scris* 'it is written'.

Table III. *A comparison of predicate types in impersonal constructions*

	State of nature and surroundings		Physical and psychological state of individuals		Predisposition		*Modality* Modal meanings	
	Rus	*Rom*	*Rus*	*Rom*	*Rus*	*Rom*	*Rus*	*Rom*
Impersonal verbs	×	×	×	×				×
Verbs used impersonally	×	×	×	×		×	×	
Verbs in *sja, se*	×	×	×	×	×		×	×
Infinitive							×	(prohibition only)
Nominal Predicate	×	×	×	×			×	×

There is a considerable degree of correspondence between the means of expressing the predicate in impersonal constructions in Rom and Rus languages, as indicated in the above table. Only in expressions of modality do differences

appear. This is as expected, for while the use of particles and modal verbs occur in both languages, the type and number of actual moods to express modality differ in the languages under comparison.

V. THE NOTION OF MOOD

5.0. In the preceeding discussion of impersonal sentences, it was mentioned that modality can be expressed in Rus by infinitive and modal predicative words, while in Rom such constructions are few. The Rom verb has, instead, a well-developed paradigm of verbal moods. A closer look at what is understood by "modality" and "mood" is, therefore, in order.

5.1. "Modality" is the broader term of the two and it indicates the speaker's subjective evaluation of the manner in which the utterance corresponds to reality; whether by means of intonation, choice of verbs, modal particles and verbal moods. The term Mood refers to a specific verbal form arrived at by inflection or by means of auxiliaries.[21]

Semantically identical modal meanings can be expressed by different moods (synonymy of form). A given mood can also be syntactically determined and unmarked for modality.

5.2. There is no one to one correlation between a specific mood and its modal meaning, as can be seen from definitions, such as:

> In exhortations and in prohibitions with *ne* the subjunctive has an imperative force... the optative represents a dependent subjunctive or future indicative (Goodwin 1890 : 3 ff.)

Meillet's summing up of Indo-European moods seems an over-idealization:

> Les nuances de sens exprimées par l'indicatif, le subjonctif et l'optatif sont donc respectivement celles des procès: positivement, affirmé, attendu ou eventuel, possible... L'impératif... exprime un commandement ferme et participe au sens affirmatif de l'indicatif (1964 : 226, 235).

5.2.1. Whether the origin of IE moods was aspectual and temporal (vivid and remote futurity) (Hahn 1953 : 139) or a difference in the relative degree of probability, (Gonda 1956 : 117) there is no ground to suppose that at any time there was a fixed set of verbal moods and that the "expressions of their semantic properties were co-extensive with their form" (Seiler 1971 : 79), and the best one can do is to give an approximate representation of their 'nuances' of meaning:

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[21] Panfilov (1968 : 82) differentiates between modality as a logico-grammatical category, the property of a sentence taken as a whole, and mood as a grammatical category related only to the grammatical predicate.

The Indo-European moods and what they express may be tabulated as follows:

Indicative:	Whether a fact, or what is alleged to be a fact, did or did not take place
Subjunctive:	volition (indirect), futurity; in conditions: contingency
Optative:	wish (direct), potentiality; in conditions: contingency
Imperative:	command, prohibition, exhortation, entreaty
Injunctive:	,, ,, ,, ,,
Infinitive:	can be used in the sense of imperative, optative, and in exclamations of surprise and indignation.[22]

5.2.2. Shifts in meaning and form occur from the earliest attested times. In Latin the Indo-European optative and the subjunctive fused morphologically and syntactically into one mood—the subjunctive, which had six forms: present and past. A look at the verbal paradigms of some modern Romance languages, show how these forms subsequently proliferated:

Spanish:	Subjunctive:	present, imperfect (two forms) present perfect, pluperfect (two forms) future, future perfect.
	Conditional:	present, perfect.
French	Subjunctive:	present, past, imperfect, pluperfect, double-compound past.
	Conditional:	present, past, double-compound past.
Romanian:	Subjunctive:	present, past.
	Optative-Conditional:	present, past.
	Optative-Presumptive	,, ,,

5.3. In Slavic the IE optative gave the form of the imperative (which kept some of the modal values of the optative). The optative form of the verb *to be* used periphrastically with the past active participle in *l* formed a new mood, the conditional (or subjunctive). In East Slavic (Rus., Ukr., Belr.), Slovak and Slovenian the modal auxiliary became a modal particle *by/bi*.[23] The Russian Academy Grammar stresses that:

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[22] For more on the IE moods and tenses, see Meillet (1964), Goodwin (1890), and Gray (1939).

[23] The modal auxiliary e.g. OCS *bim*, (or biml) *bi*, was replaced by the perfective Aorist of *byti*, *byx*, (or byxŭ) *by* used as a conditional auxiliary. See the different forms in the various Slavic languages: Ukrainian *by*, Slovak *by*, Belorussian suffix *by*, *b*, Czech and Upper Lusatian *bych*, *bys*, *by*, Lower Lusatian *by* for all persons, Polish enclitic *bym*, *byś*, *by*. Slovenian and Macedonian invariable particle *bi*, and Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian *bих*, *би*.

Only when this particle appears in combination with the past tense can it be considered a verbal mood, and not when it appears with imperative, infinitive or participle (1970 : 356).

As the modal meaning is contained in the particle, which can combine also with modal predicative words, the above restriction can only have historical grounds. The positing of a separate mood to account for this one environment only complicates the grammar.[24]

5.3.1. The infinitive can express a wide range of modal meanings, including obligation, or necessity (depending on aspect). The choice of aspect in conjuction with negation can have a bearing on the modal meaning of the imperative as well.

5.3.2. In Bulgarian and Macedonian (which do not have an infinitive) there is, in addition to the periphrastic conditional discussed above, a subjunctive form (da + pres. ind.) used in environments where other Slavic languages use the infinitive. This subjunctive has assumed many of the modal meanings, associated with infinitive both in independent and subordinate clauses.

It should be pointed out that Rom, while still retaining an infinitive, has replaced it with the subjunctive in many of the same environments as Bulgarian:[25]

(a) Fr. *je veux lire* (inf.)	'I want to read'
(b) Rus. *xoču čitat'* (inf.)	" " "
(c) Rom. *vreau să citesc* (subj.)	" " "
(d) Bulg. *iskam da četa* (subj.)	" " "
(e) Fr. *donne-moi à boire*	'give me to drink'
(f) Rus. *daj vypit'*	" " " "
(g) Rom. *dă-mi să beau*	" " " "
(h) Bulg. *daj mi da pija*	" " " "

5.4. In conclusion, modality can be expressed *in Rus* by means of:

(a) Modal predicative words[26]

(b) Particles: *pust'*, *da*, *liš'*, *razve*, ... etc.

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[24] Šaxmatov (1963 : 481 - 86) talks about morphological and syntactical 'moods' and tries to differentiate them using semantic and functional criteria.

[25] This departure from a prevailing pattern in both Slavic and Romance languages has been attributed to Greek influence. See K. Sandfeld (1930).

[26] I hesitate to group them together with the particles because of their different syntactic behaviour and function.

'let', 'if only', 'is it really?'. The particle *by* alone, or together with any of the above, when combined with past tense and considered a verbal mood.[27]

(c) Verbal moods: indicative, infinitive, imperative

(d) Addition of suffix *sja*

(e) Aspect

(f) Modal verbs: *xotet'*, *moč'* (want, can) which in their turn can be affected by all the above.[28]

And *in Rom* by means of

(a) Particles in conjunction with verbal moods

(b) Moods: indicative, imperative, infinitive,

subjunctive:	present:—	particle. *să*[29]+special verbal paradigm
	past:—	particle. *să*+inf. of *a fi* 'to be'+past part.
optative:	present:—	aux. *aș*[30], *ai*, *ar*, *am*, *ați*, *ar*+inf.
	past:—	aux. *aș*, *ai*, *ar*,...+inf. verb *a fi* 'to be' +inf.
presumptive:		adding past participle or gerund to indicative future, or present subjunctive or optative.

(c) Modal verbs: *a putea* 'can', *a trebui* 'must', *a vrea* 'want', *a veni* 'to come', *a fi* 'to be', *a avea* 'to have'[31]

VI. THE FORMALIZATION OF SENTENCE AND FUNCTION RELATIONSHIPS

6.0. The examples of subjectless sentences (Chapters II, III, IV) make it obvious that neither Rus nor Rom requires SS subjects in certain types of sentences. It is my opinion that a grammar of the type S=NP^VP (both for DS and SS) where an NP, which is an immediate constituent of the sentence in question, is defined as its subject, would not be suitable for these languages as the subject position for every type of sentence is not necessarily filled in

[27] On the same pattern Šaxmatov (1963 : 485) posits the 'unreal' mood *čut'*, *edva*, *bylo*+past tense (just about to, on the verge of ... but)

[28] Except they can not take an imperative, and *moč'* does not have a form in *sja*.

[29] The particle *să* is used in the formation of two of three forms for future: with aux. have, will, *o*+subj., *am*+subj., *o să fac*, *am să fac*.

[30] It is not clear whether the origin of this aux. is the imperfect of Lat. *volere*, or the subjunctive of *habeo*, *habuisse*. Lausberg (1962 : 219).

[31] In special constructions; for example the English verb 'need'

Rom Dat+*a fi necesar*. Nom+*a avea nevoie*

Rus Dat+*nado or nužno*. Nom *dolžen* (*a*, *o*, *y*)

DS either, as will be shown. A grammar which posits a DS subject for some sentences and not for others would lose in generality and would blur the distinction between syntactic configurations and semantic relations. A suitable deep structure for Rus and Rom would take the form:

$\neq S \neq \rightarrow$ Predicator $\wedge$ $NP^{(n)}$

Predicator $\rightarrow$ { Verb / Predicative words (adv., adj., noun) }

$NP^{(n)} \rightarrow$ one or more arguments...

Throughout our presentation we have shown the role relations of NP according to the model proposed by Fillmore, which can be represented by:

However, we have shown the need to use beside goal another role relation, that of D, and we have shown C as separate from I. The material under discussion does not point to the necessity of postulating a relation C as opposed to I. (It might even seem counterintuitive in Rus where SS instrumental case is used with causal verbs such as *interesovat'sja* 'to be interested', *uvlekat'sja* 'to be emotionally carried away' and, where, in expressions of sickness the cause of sickness is in SS instrumental, *bolet' anginoj*, *zabolet' grippom* 'to have, catch the flu'. Nonetheless, I feel that an additional DS case, C, is needed because of the sentence type (both in Rus and Rom),

Rus *molnija oslepila menja svoim bleskom* 'the lightning blinded me with its brightness'
C O I
Rom *fulgerul m-a orbit cu lumina lui*
C O I

One could analyse 'lightning' as *So*, like *fabrika* in the sentences:

(a) *Fabrika oglušila menja svoim šumom* 'The factory deafened me with its noise'
C=S O I
Fabrica m-a asurzit cu zgomotul ei
C=S O I

(b) *Šum fabriki oglušil menja* 'The noise of the factory deafened me'
I S O
Zgomotul fabricii m-a asurzit
I S O

(c) *Šum iz fabriki oglušil menja* 'The noise from the factory deafened me'
I S O

Zgomotul din fabrică m-a asurzit
I S O

(d) *Na fabrike ja byl oglušen šumom* 'In the factory I was deafened by the noise'
So=P O I
În fabrică am fost asurzit de zgomot
So=P O I

The problems of distinguishing between So, C and I are more philosophical than grammatical, especially when one talks of DS. In SS, there may be formal categories to distinguish these, but I am not certain just which should be the criterion. On grounds of selectional restrictions in Japanese, Akatsuka (197' : 17) separates I into I, 1 — implement, immediate cause; and I, 2 — stimulus for psychological verbs. In Rus and Rom we need to distinguish between principal cause and immediate cause or means, which for psychological verbs can be the inherent quality of the main stimulus:

(a) Rus *muzyka vdoxnovila menja svoej krasotoj* 'The music inspired me with its beauty'
C E I
Rom *muzica m-a inspirat cu frumusețea ei* with its beauty'
C E I

(b) Rus *muzyka vdoxnovila menja* 'The music inspired me'
C E
Rom *muzica m-a inspirat*
C E

(c) Rus *krasota etoj muzyki vdoxnovila menja* 'The beauty of the music inspired me'
I C E
Rom *frumusețea muzicii m-a inspirat*
I C E

(with *èto* added for definiteness)
And the general statement:

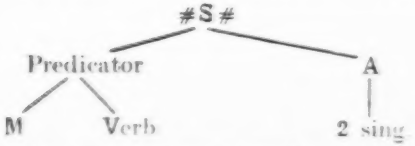
(d) Rus *krasota vdoxnovljaet menja* 'Beauty inspires me'
I E
Rom *frumusețea mă inspiră*
I E

(Only in sentences in which both relations appear must C and I be differentiated).

6.1. Having defined the framework, I will now attempt to show how one could express different types of subjectless sentences using it.

6.1.1. In generalized and indefinite personal sentences (2.2.2., 2.2.3., 3.3 and 3.4) a DS relation is brought by sentence formation rules into SS and

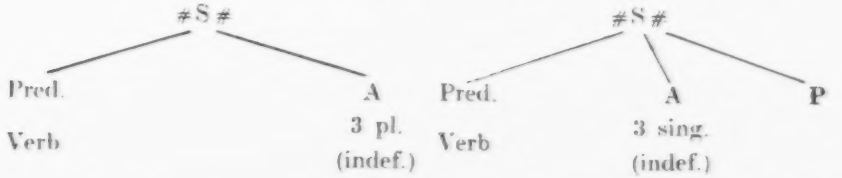
then deleted. Our examples: ***pospešiš'***, ***ljudej nasmešiš'***; ***dacă vrei***, ***poți***, contain each, two sentences similar in structure. The Rom example has a modal particle ('if') which is deleted in Rus. A single analysis can be proposed for both Rus and Rom which satisfies this:



SF (Sentence Formation Rules):
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. Subject deletion

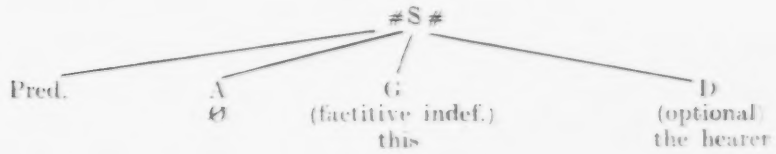
The same sentence formation rules can be proposed for:

govorjat' 'they say' ***spune la sfinta carte*** 'it says in the Holy Book'



6.1.2. Indefinite personal sentences expressed by verbs with (Rus) ***sja***, ***s'***, (Rom) ***se*** (so-called reflexive marker):

govoritsja, ***se zice*** 'it is said' (Rus imperfective)
govorilos', ***se zicea*** 'it was said' ,,



6.1.2.1. SF. 1. Addition of reflexive marker (passivization)
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. Subject deletion
5. (Optional D — SS dative)

To posit the existence of A would require three extra steps:

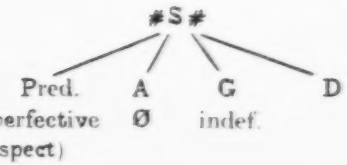
6.1.2.2. SF. 1. Passivization by addition of reflexive marker
2. Agent shunting
3. Subject formation
4. Subject predicate agreement
5. SS case assigned to agent (Rus. Instr., Rom: *de*+accuz.)
6. Deletion of the result of above operation

7. Subject deletion
8. (optional D)

The positing of an indefinite G, in its resultative meaning, would account for the impersonal form of the verb (3 sing. and the neutral past in Rus).

6.1.3. The same analysis as in 6.1.2, can be proposed for the Rus constructions with predicate expressed by past passive participle short form neuter (2.5.3), the type of passivization depending on the aspect of the verb:

Impersonal construction: (*bylo skazano* 'it was said' (perfective)



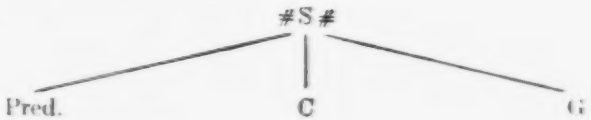
SF. 1. Passivization
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. Subject deletion
5. Optional D-SS dative

The personal construction would contain A, optional G and D:

Ja (*ej*) (*èto*) *skazal* 'I said (this/it) (to her)'

SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. Surface case assignment for any other role relations if shown.

6.1.4. We noted above (2.5.3) that I or C relation can appear in both personal and impersonal sentences:



a) Personal sentence active

voda zalila pogreb 'water flooded the basement'
I G

SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. G→SS accusative

(b) Personal sentence passive

pogreb byl zalit vodoj 'the basement was flooded by water'
G I

SF. 1. Passivization
2. I (C) shunting
3. Subject formation

4. Subject predicate agreement
5. I (C)→SS instrumental

(c) Impersonal sentence passive
bylo zalito vodoj 'it was flooded by water'
I
SF. Condition G=Indef.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, as in (b)
6. Subject deletion
Impersonal SS marker for participle

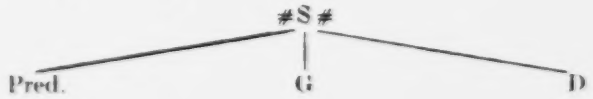
6.2. Before proceeding with impersonal constructions containing verbs with reflexive marker, referred to in the course of my exposition as reflexive, pseudo-reflexive or passive verbs, a brief elucidation is in order. In both Rus and Rom (but not necessarily for the same lexical items) the addition of *sja*, *se* marks:

i. reflexivization
ii. reciprocity
iii. passivization (one of the two ways of forming it)
iv. change of state
v. phasal action
vi. intensification
vii. mental and psychological condition
viii. impersonal verbs
ix. change in lexical meaning
x. permanent characteristic
xi. shades of modality (Rus only)

Some verbs (mostly psychological) do not have a corresponding unmarked form. In both languages some of the functions overlap.

6.2.1. Different analyses will have to be proposed depending on the function of the marker: Passivization rules as for *se zice* can be proposed for active verbs like *a zvoni* — *se zvoneşte* 'to ring, it is rumored', and for non-active verbs where O is substituted for A.
E. g., *eu pot, ştiu, cad* — *se poate, se ştie, se cade*
'can, know, fall — it is possible, known, fitting',
se cade can have an optional D relation.

6.2.2. Some verbs can have only the marked form, personal or impersonal: *se întîmplă, slučaetsja* 'it happened'

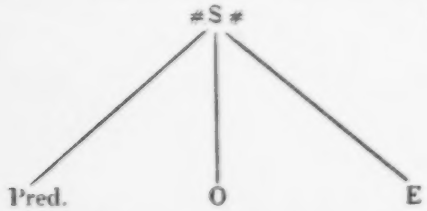


6.2.2.1. SF. for impersonal construction
Condition G= Indefinite
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. Subject deletion
4. Optional D-SS dative

Since there is only one possible form for impersonal verbs, rules 1, 2, 3 can be replaced by one rule, subject blocking, (the SS nominative and accusative being identical for the indef. pronoun).

6.2.2.2. SF. Condition G=Indefinite
1. Verb marked impersonal
2. Subject blocking
3. Surface case assignment for
optional D-SS dative
optional G-SS accusative

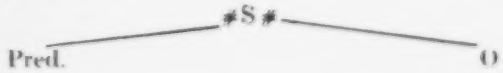
6.2.2.2. Would allow for verbs in *sja*, *se* which do not have a personal form such as *mi se năzăreşte*, *mne čuditsja* 'it seems that I see', *mne snitsja* 'I dream'. For verbs like *mne nravitsja*, *îmi place* 'I like it, it pleases me', which can have both personal and impersonal forms, 6.2.2.1. would be preferable.



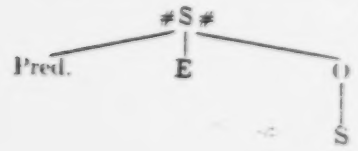
SF. 1. Experiencer shunting (for either personal or impersonal)
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. E→SS dative
5. Subject deletion when verb marked impersonal.

6.2.3. The particle *se* can mark the verb as a mental or psychological state verb.

A. Personal construction
Eu par 'I appear, I seem'



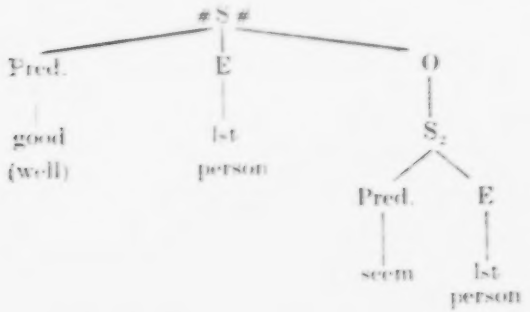
B. Impersonal form
(*mi*) *se pare* (*că*) 'it seems (to me) (that)'



SF. 1. Impersonal marking
2. Subject blocking
3. SS case assignment for optional roles
E-SS dative
O-Sentential complement

In Rom there is an impersonally used form *părea* without *se* which can take sentential complement but not E. (In Rus, *kažet'sja* 'to seem', has only the *sja* form but can appear as personal and impersonal with the same SF as in Rom).

C. Evaluative reflexive (no comparable form in Rus)
îmi pare bine, rău
'I'm glad, sorry' "it seems to me good, bad"
"well", "badly"



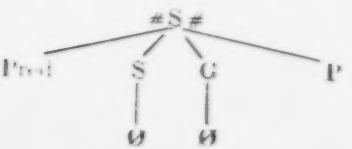
SF. 1. Impersonal marking
2. Reflexivization
3. Equi-NP deletion
4. Predicate raising
5. Subject blocking
6. E - SS dative

6.2.4. Particle *se* marking impersonal change of state verbs of the type: *se înnoptează, se amiezește* 'it becomes night, morning'. They would show an earlier and later state, S, G, which get delected in SS.

With some verbs G remains and appears in SS accusative:
se lumina de ziuă 'dawn was breaking'

In Rus some verbs in this lexical group can have impersonal forms both with or without *sja*: *temneet, temneetsja* 'it gets darker'. Without *sja* they can appear in personal constructions with SS subject.

(a) *na dvore svetleet* "outside 'in the yard' it's getting lighter"



SF. Cond=verb marked impersonal
1. Subject blocking
2. P→SS locative

(b) *vzgljad svetleet* 'one's look brightens'
SF. Cond=verb marked personal
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement (defective verb with only 3rd person form)

6.3. At the mention of impersonal constructions, the first thing people comment on are meteorogical expressions: it rains, it snows.

While in Rom they form an extended lexical group (3.5) with a high functional load, in Rus they all but disappeared. *Snežit* 'it snows' is archaic, *doždit* 'it rains' conveys a special poetic mood of 'steady rainy weather', and have been replaced by *dožd'*, *sneg idet*, *padaet*, 'the rain, snow falls (goes)'. Other Slavic languages also show this gradual change from impersonal to personal constructions. Cz., Slvk. *prší*, Slov. *dežujit*, Mac. *vrne*, Bulg. *vali*, *vali dožd*, Ser.-Cr. *kiši*, *pada kiša*.

In the Romance languages the impersonal form prevails (e.g. Fr. *il pleut*, Sp. *llueve*, It. *piove*), and the personal form is stylistically marked (poetical language), It. *la pioggia cade*, Fr. *la pluie tombe*.

The question has been debated by grammarians whether in sentences of this type there is an underlying mythological agent, a force of nature, or inanimate causer. I propose here to analyse them by positing an O relationship.

6.3.1. *Dožd'* in *dožd' idet* is obviously O (entity which moves); there is no reason to suppose that it could be anything else in a DS of the form *dožd' doždit* (poetical alliteration).

A. Impersonal sentence:

toarnă cu găleata, *plouă cu găleata* 'it rains buckets'

SF. Cond = verb marked impersonal.
1. Subject blocking
2. I-SS accusative + prep.

B. Personal sentence:

ploaia toarnă cu găleata 'the rain pours in buckets'

SF. Cond = verb marked personal.
1. I shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subj. Pred. Agreement
4. I-SS accusative + prep.

6.3.2. Alliterative, poetically marked constructions:

Rus	(a) *grom gremel*	'thunder thundered'
Rom	(b) *viscolul viscolea*	'the snowstorm stormed'
Rus	(c) *gremelo*	'it thundered'
Rom	(d) *viscolea*	'there was a snowstorm'

SF. (a) and (b)
Cond = verb marked personal
1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
SF. (c) and (d)
Cond = verb marked impersonal
1. Subject blocking
2. O deletion

6.4. Impersonal constructions with nominal predicate (verb 'to be' sing. or neuter past, marking tense followed by adv., adj. or noun) have a high functional load both in Rus (2.5.1) and Rom (3.7 and 3.7.1). Using Fillmore's definitions, we have differentiated between E for psychological state and O (animate being undergoing a physical state). The SS form for either, both in Rus and Rom, is dative. In fact there is only an E relation in DS both for "psychological" and "physical" conditions.

6.4.1. Personal sentence.

Rus *dom byl teplyi, (prijatnyj)* 'the house was warm, pleasant'
Rom *casa era caldă, plăcută*

SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement

6.4.2. Impersonal sentence.

Rus *(v dome) (mne) bylo teplo, prijatno* "(in the house) it was warm, pleasant (for me)"
Rom *(in casă) (mi-) era cald, plăcut*

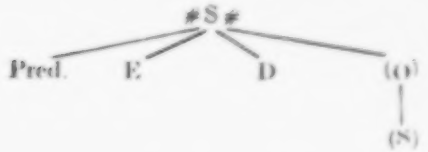
SF. Cond = Impersonal Pred.
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. SS case assignment for optional E, P, T.

(With some predicators, E can be blocked in SS, e.g. (Rus), *pasmurno* 'it's cloudy'). The same analysis is proposed for "psychological state" expressions.

Rus *mne stydno, len', trudno...* } 'I am ashamed, I feel lazy'
Rom *mi-e ruşine, lene, greu* } 'it's hard for me'

6.4.3. Nominal constructions with modals:

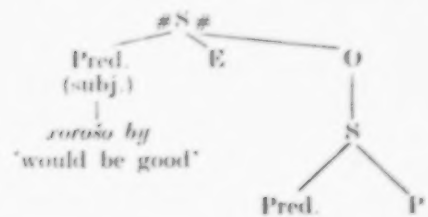
Rus (*mne nado* (*dlja zdorov'ja*)... 'it is necessary (for my health)'
Rom (*mi-)e necesar* (*pentru sănătate*)...



SF. Cond = Impersonal predicate.
1. Subject blocking
2. SS case assignment for optional DS relations

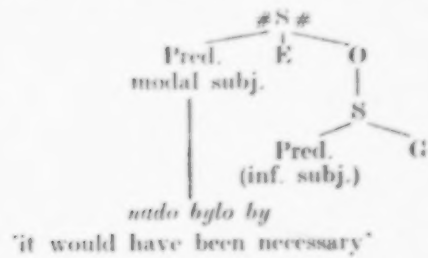
6.4.4. The infinitive modal constructions in Rus (2.4.3) contain in the DS a modal or modal evaluative predicator which gets delected in SS:

(a) *byt' emu v raju* 'if he could be in paradise!'



SF. Cond = Impersonal predicate.
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. SS case assignment

b) *tebe by pomoč' nam* 'you ought to be the one to help us'



SF. Cond = Impersonal predicate.
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. Case assignment

nado bylo by
'it would have been necessary'

The seeming shifts in many sentences which occur when negatives are used have nothing to do with role relations, and will therefore not be discussed here. The majority of sentences involving modals and negatives may be analysed as sentences with sentential embeddings.

An interesting example of such sentences contains two surface structure datives, one for E and another for G. Word order is used to disambiguate them:

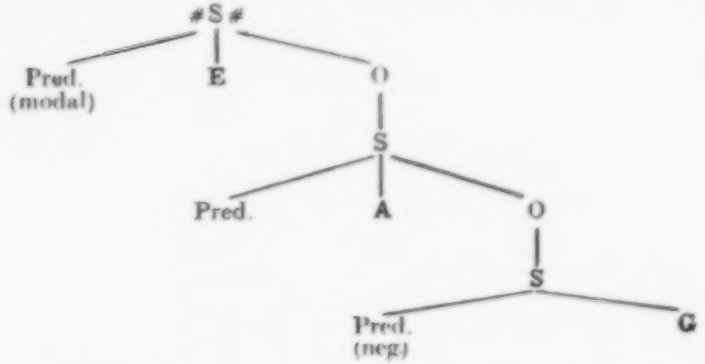
(a) *mne nekomu pisat'* = *net nikogo komu ja mog by (na)pisat'*
E G G E
'there is absolutely nobody I could write to'

(b) *nekomu mne pisat'* = *net nikogo kto mog by mne (na)pisat'*
E G E G
'there is absolutely nobody who could write to me'

(For an attempt at formalization see footnote 32).

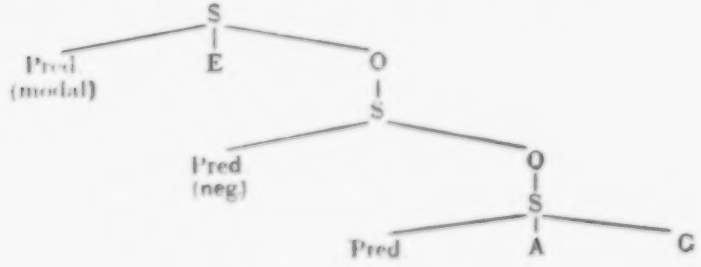
---

[32] (a) *mne nekomu pisat'* = *net nikogo komu ja mog by (na)pisat'*
SF. Condition = A coreferential with E impersonal sentence
1. Case assignments E, G → SS dative
2. Deletion of modal
3. (Optional) topicalization verb in final position



mog by	ja	pisat'	ja	net	nikogo
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ø	2	3	4 - 2	5+6	
	mne	pisat'		nekomu	

(b) *nekomu mne pisat'* = *net nikogo kto mog by mne (na)pisat'*



footnote 32 cntd. on p. 54

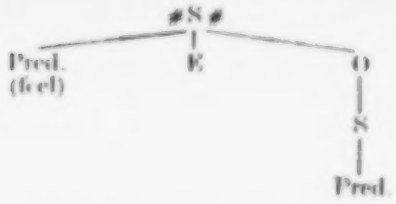
6.5. Among the impersonal nominal predicate constructions are expressions of fear:

Rus *mne strašno, mne bojazno, mne žutko*

Rom *mi-e teamă, mi-e frică, mi-e groază*

'I am scared, frightened, terrified, horrified, awestruck'

They can be analysed in a manner similar to that of the psychological state expressions (6.4.2).



SF. Cond=Impersonal predicator
1. Higher predicate deletion
2. Predicate raising
3. Subject blocking
4. SS case assignment E - dative

6.5.1. Active verbs with A or C take O (animate object which undergoes a statea state).

(a) Personal construction:

Rus *straščat', nastraščat', strašit', ustrašit', ustrašat', pugat', ispugat', napugat', perepugat', užasat', užasnut'*

Rom *a speria, înspăimînta, înfricoșa, intimida, îngrozi*

'scare, frighten, intimidate, terrify, horrify'

SF. 1. Subject formation
2. Subject predicate agreement
3. SS case assignment for
E=O — accusative
pe+accusative Rom

(b) The above Rom verbs undergo passivization with past participle, also the Rus perfective verbs with the exception of *užasnut'*.

---

footnote 32 cntd. from p. 53

mog by	nikto	net	pisat'	kto	ja
1	2	3	4	5	6
∅		2+3	4	5 - 2	6
		nekomu	pisat'		mne

There are no similar impersonal constructions in Rom. The closest to it in meaning is a construction with the verb 'to have' and subordinate sentence with subjunctive:

(c) *n-am cui să-i scriu* "I don't have to whom to write"
G G

(d) *n-are cine să-mi scrie* "there is nobody who could write to me"
A G
(agent apparent from the form of the verb)

SF. 1. A or C shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. SS case assignment for A or C (optional, can be deleted) Rus → instrumental Rom → *de* + accusative.

(c) All the verbs in (a) with the exception of the first Rus pair) have a form in *sja*, *se*. C or A need not be shown in DS. When shown, it appears in SS in the genitive case in Rus and *de* + accusative in Rom.

SF. 1. A or C shunting
2. Subject formation
3. Subject predicate agreement
4. SS case assignment

(d) Verbs with only the form in *sja*, *se*:

Rus *bojat'sja*, *opasat'sja* | 'to fear, to dread'
Rom *a se teme* |
Rom *a se sfii*, *a se înfiora* 'to be intimidated, to quail, to shudder'

have the same DS and SS as (c) above.

In this lexical group we see a gradual change from an active causer (A or C) inflicting fear, experienced as a physical state (SS accusative) in active and passive sentences to E as focus, *sja*, *se* verbs, with causer in the background, still capable of being expressed, to constructions (in Rus)[33] where no C or A can ever be shown in SS and 'fear' is strictly a psychological condition.

6.6. In this chapter we have attempted to show how the Fillmorian model can be applied to crosslanguage analysis of similar forms. As many models are limited by the type of material which they can handle, this is of prime importance. The demonstration that a case-grammar model possesses the capability of dealing with similar data from different languages (here Rus and Rom) which express these similar data in different surface ways, is in fact, a demonstration of the strength of the case model.

VII. CONCLUSION

7.0. The preceding has been an attempt at demonstrating the utility of a case grammar model for explaining similar forms of syntactic structures

[33] In Rom the impersonal constructions (6.5) can have an optinal C or A shown in SS de + accusative.

in two diverse languages, one with an elaborate overt case system and simple use of prepositions, the other with a simple case system, but with elaborate use of prepositional phrases.

7.1. The point of reference is Rus, and this has determined the direction of the enquiry. As stated previously, Rus grammarians have always been very much concerned with the interrelationship between the grammatical structure of language and the structure of thought as illustrated in logical versus grammatical modality, and in the structure of the sentence. The question as to just what form of thought is expressed by the impersonal and the one member sentence has been widely debated. There are many types of sentences (in addition to passives) in Rus, where the logical subject is expressed in an oblique case:

(a) *starik ne spit* O	'the old man doesn't sleep'
starik u ne spitsja O	'the old man has trouble sleeping'
(b) *mne nado* E	'I need'
(c) *sneg zanes dorogu* I P	'the snow covered the road'
(d) *snegom zaneslo dorogu* I P	'the snow covered the road' (impersonal)
(e) *doroga byla zanesena snegom* P I	'the road covered by snow' (passive)

7.2. Although impersonal constructions in Rom have nearly as wide a distribution as in Rus (Table III), their study as a specific sentence type has been neglected. This is due to the following factors:
1. The greatest number of impersonal verbs, semantically limited to expressions of atmospheric conditions, are considered a relic of a "primitive form of thought" (Poalelungi, 1957);
2. Other impersonal verbs can take sentential subjects (as in other Romance languages)

(a) *trebuie să mă duc* (Fr. *il faut que j'aille*)
'I must go'
(b) *mi se pare că este aici* (Fr. *il me semble que c'est ici*)
'it seems to me that it is here';

3. In nominal predicates, where the NP is a noun, it can by analysed as subject of the construction

(c) *mi-e lene* 'I am lazy'
"laziness is at me";

4. Constructions where no formal subject could be proposed are considered idioms

(d) *mi-e de* 'I am in a mood for'
(e) *nu-mi pasă* 'I don't care'

7.3. I have attempted to show that in Rom as in Rus certain sentence types can be classified as impersonal, and that their distinguishing mark is the absence of an agent in DS. Case grammar, where role relationships such as agent, experiencer, place... are posited in the DS is, therefore, more suited to my analysis than a Transformational model where a sentence in DS is diagrammed as S→ →NP ∧ VP. I will illustrate this with a set of simple sentences in Rus, Rom and their English counteparts:

I Russian

(a) moloko teploe
(b) komnata teplaja
(c) on teplyj
(d) on teplyi (čelovek)
(e) emu teplo
(f) v komnate teplo

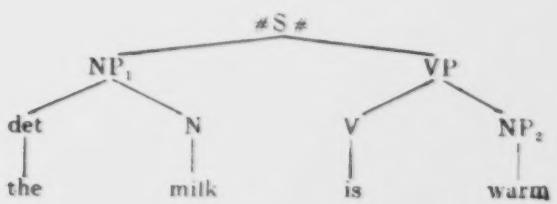
II Romanian

(a) laptele e cald
(b) camera e caldă
(c) el e cald
(d) el e (un om) cald
(e) îi e cald
(f) în cameră e cald

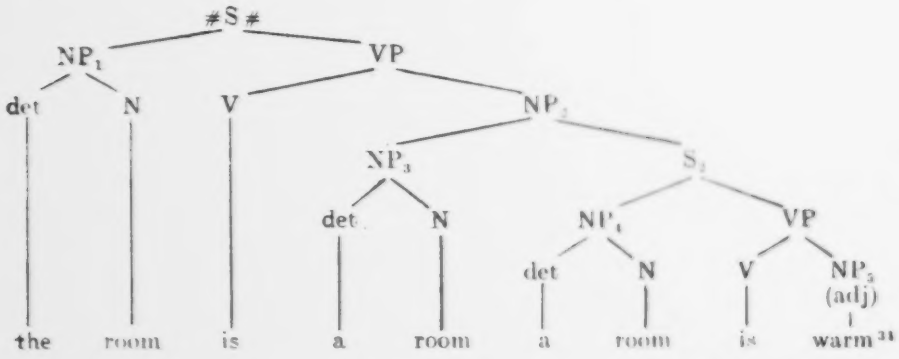
III *English*

(a) the milk is warm
(b) the room is warm (the room is a warm room, easy to heat, friendly)
(c) he is warm (to the touch)
(d) he is warm (he is a warm, friendly man)
(e) he is warm (it is warm to him)
(f) it is warm in the room (the room is warm)

7.3.1. First I will propose descriptions according to the transformational model starting with the English examples
(i)



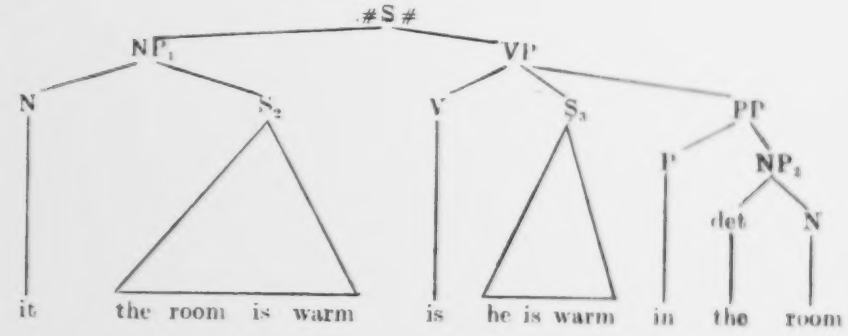
SD for sentence (a) and with slight modification, pronominalization having previously applied, for sentence (c).
(ii)



This, after the application of relativization, relative clause reduction, modified shift and equi-NP deletion, results in sentence (b); sentence (d) requiring an additional pronomalization transformation.

7.3.1.1. The same description would fit the Rom sentences (a), (b) (c) and (d). For Rus, sentences (a), (b), (c), (d) as shown require description (ii) to account for the attributive (long) adjectival form. Sentences (a), (b) and (c) also have a predicative (short) adjectival form, *moloko teplo*, *komnata tepla on tepel*, for which SD (i) is adequate.

7.3.1.2. Underlying sentences (e) and (f) would propose the following SD.
(iii)

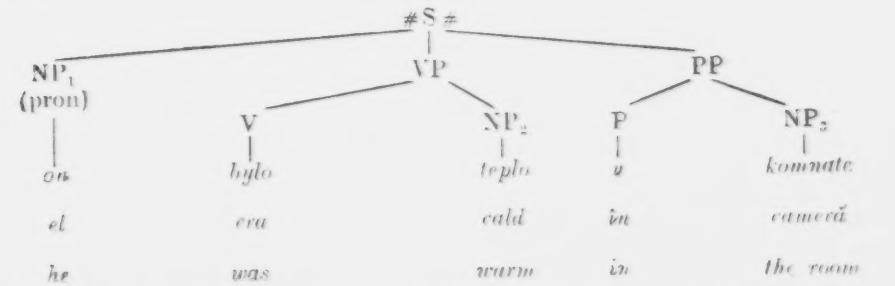


[34] I have indicated adj. as NP as in Chomsky (1965). The notion of adj. as verbal, not nominal (which dates back to Aristotle), does not change the analysis materially.

The application of 'it' deletion, extraposition, relative clause formation, 'to be' deletion, relative clause deletion, and optional PP deletion would result in sentence (e).

To obtain sentence (f) the following transformations are necessary: extraposition, relative clause formation, 'to be' deletion, pronoun deletion, relative clause deletion and PP clause deletion.

7.3.1.3. For Rus and Rom the pronoun "he" would have to undergo a further dative formation rule and SS rules of gender agreement. SD (iii) is unacceptable on other grounds. The embedded sentence 'the room is warm' cannot refer in Rus or Rom to temperature and its presence is gratuitous. A simple parsing PS description suffices to generate (e) and (f).
(iv)



to which obligatory dative formation rule and optional pronoun and PP deletion rules apply. For (f) a further optional topicalization rule which would front the PP applies.

7.3.1.4. The preceding descriptions would be further complicated were we to introduce adverbial phrases of time (e.g., "now", "always"), which can apply to all of the above sentences, and prepositional phrases showing to whose advantage or disadvantage the above propositions are directed ('the milk is warm (enough) for the baby', 'he is warm to you but cold to me'). The latter can apply only to sentences (a), (b), (c) and (d).

7.4. The advantage of a case grammar model lies in its ability to deal with these problems. In a case grammar model a predicator of the type 'is warm' is shown capable of taking five arguments,
(v)

subject to the following provisions:
1. The predicator can enter into either E or O relationships at any given time, but never both.
2. E permits P and/or T relationships. In Rus or Rom it marks the sentence as impersonal, followed by subject blocking. Whether the E is shown or not in SS, the sentence remains impersonal and neither P not T can occupy the subject position. In English, E can become SS subject, when elliptic, P or T can take this position. When no arguement is shown in SS, the indefinite pronoun "it" fills the subject position "it is cold". (The conditions for generating "it is cold in the room" as against "the room is cold" remain unexplained).[35]
3. A simple sentence containing O can also show T and/or D relationships. The O occupies the SS subject position.
4. P can appear with T and D relationships and occupies SS subject position.
5. When T appears in a sentence, whether alone or with D, it can become SS subject.
6. D cannot become SS subject, 'it's too warm for me here'.
7. When P is shown in the SS of a sentence which contains O, it is analysed as deriving from a embedding 'the milk in the jug is warm'.[36]

The above rules illustrate the hierarchical ordering of the case relationships and how it is applied.

7.4.1. In 6.4.2. I analysed sentence (f) as embedded in a higher sentence with a psych-predicator. This was in keeping with the latest Fillmorean (1971c : : 251) definition of E role as "the experiencer (animate) of a psychological event or of a mental state verb". With other types of predicators I posited O defined as "the animate entity which undergoes change of state". I differentiated between animate O in

Rus *mne nezdorovitsja*	'I don't feel well'
Rom *mi-e foame*	'I am hungry'

and E in

Rus *mne nravitsja*	'I like it'
Rom *mi-e grijă*	'I am worried'

If one werse to enlarge the scope of E to "animate, affected by non-active verbs" it would simplify the analysis of the impersonal constructions discussed. It would still differentiate between

[35] In a localistic case grammar model J. Anderson (1971 : 97) discussing the two interpretations of "John is cold", ducks the issue, defining one as a stative and the other as a stative locative or reflexive locative and concludes: „In view of the uncertainty with respect to such an interpretation of these forms, I shall not conclude the appropriate rules among these proposed below".

[36] Sentences which are shown only in English have surface structures in Rus and Rom similar to those in English.

Rus	(a) *mne lstit*	'I am flattered'
	E	
	(b) *menja znobit*	'I am shivering'
	O	„I am made to tremble"
	(c) *menja manilo*	'I was enticed, lured'
	O	
Rom	(d) *îi era somn*	'he was sleepy'
	E	
	(e) *îl trăgea la somn*	'he was sleepy'
	O	"it pulled him to sleep"

The verb 'to hurt' in Rom would seem an exception if one were to consider it impersonal, as Sandfeld & Olsen (1962) do in constructions such as

(f) *te doare*	'it hurts you'

That the construction is not impersonal is obvious from the subject predicate agreement in a similar sentence

(g) *mă dor ochii*	'my eyes hurt'
P	

(Besides, I proposed a compound-locative analysis for this type of sentence in 4.2.1).[37]

7.5. One can conclude that in Rus, and Rom, the E in impersonal constructions always takes the dative case in SS. The impersonal constructions in both Rus and Rom offer an example where relational semantic features in DS have an exact counterpart in SS.

The material under discussion is too limited for any attempt at generalizations concerning the correlation between DS case relationships and SS cases; any search for a general meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*) of cases can only be undertaken on the DS level; its manifestation in SS, the grammatical form, being subject to DS and SS contextual constraints.

I have not shown any of these constraints in my thesis, but I have limited myself to signaling role relationships as they appear in impersonal constructions. These roles were mostly O, C or I (inanimate), E (animate) and marginally P, T and D.

7.5.1. The criticism that animateness as a property of the participant is not relevant to its role is unfounded (Huddleston 1970 : 504). Animateness is a semantic category and roles are analysed as semantic relationships. Impersonal constructions provide evidence that animateness can have grammatical impli-

[37] The other example in Sandfeld & Olsen (Vol. III, 1962 : 28).
(a) *îl durea gîndindu-se că* "it hurt him thinking that ..." can be encountered as
(b) *mă doare sufletul să mă gîndesc* "it hurts my soul to think"

cations. The proposal that agent in complementary distribution with force should combine in one case to produce causer would not be feasible. Inanimate force can appear in impersonal constructions while animate agent cannot (2.5.3, 4.1.2.).

7.5.2. The absence of an agent in DS characterizes this type of sentence, a fact intuitively perceived by grammarians and referred to as *sostojanie* 'state' (Galkina-Fedoruk 1958), *perežívanie* 'experience' (Šaxmatov 1963), or as "all-encompassing event or state' (Chafe 1970 : 102).

7.6. I have shown the different means, including impersonal constructions, to express modality in the two languages. A detailed application of case grammar to the analysis of modality was not within the scope of this thesis. I feel that further work on these lines would help to explain the abstract structure of modality and its syntactic manifestation.

7.7. In accord with the term of reference, this analytic examination of impersonal sentences has revealed two notable results, (a) that the Fillmorean model applied to two different languages, Rus and Rom reveals remarkable likeness, and (b) that the strength of the model has been substantiated. In order for this or any other theory to have true explanatory value, however, the continued examination of empirical data is of prime importance.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
aux.	auxiliary
C	cause
D	designative
dat.	dative
det.	determiner
DS	deep structure
E	experiencer
F	force
G	goal
gen.	genitive
GLR	Gramatica limbii române
I	instrument
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
M	modal
MP	modal phrase
N	noun
nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	place
part.	participle
pl.	plural
prep.	preposition
PP	prepositional phrase
pred.	predicator
pron.	pronoun
Rom	Romanian (Roumanian)
Rus	Russian
S	sentence
SF	sentence formation
sing.	singular
So.	source
SS	surface structure
subj.	subjunctive
T	time
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
WPL	Working Papers in Linguistics, Columbus, Ohio

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DIFFERENTIAL IDENTITY BETWEEN LANGUAGES

A STUDY OF ASSERTION AND INTERROGATION IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH[1]

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While it is well-known that syntax has a life of its own, determining meanings through alternative orders (e.g. *c'est..., est-ce..., you do..., do you...*), or the exhibition of elements sometimes known as 'empty morphemes',[2] the primary role of syntax is that of intermediary between substance and propositional kinds of meaning.

In the syntactic component of the grammar of a language the linguist will find evidence both of:

conciseness, distance from an easily interpretable semantic representation, and

explicitness, a surface representation, and adequate account of the meaning of a sentence.

Amongst the items in the following list:

1a. *il me faut* 2a. *mnje holodno* 'to me cold' (neuter)) (Russian:
b. *je dois* b. *I'm cold*
c. *j'ai froid*

---

[1] In many ways this paper is a development of the one I presented at the third congress of the Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée Copenhagen 1972. This was published as "Simple sentences in three languages" (cf. Nickel, G. 1972: 12 - 20).

In the present paper, however, I am more concerned with the comparability within and between languages, and less with the particular items in the two languages which lend themselves to such comparison.

Both in preparing the Copenhagen paper and this I had the benefit of the views of friends and colleagues, among whom I would mention Professor Martin Harris, Drs. Andrew Radford and Bernard Comrie. The views in both papers, of course, remain my responsibility alone.

[2] The notion, rather than the label as such, is discussed within the terms of a generative grammar by Katz and Postal (1964 : 6 - 8).

those at a in each case seem somehow 'closer' to the form that a semantic representation might be expected to take. Moreover, the contrast between concise and explicit is found across languages and within each language.
The list may be extended:

a. *nʲ'ěng bù lěng*[3]
b. *tjebje holodno, nie pravda-li?*
c. *you're cold, aren't you?*
d. *tu as froid, n'est-ce pas?*

to show that there is one form of 'yes/no' interrogative in Chinese (3a) that is more explicit, being the juxtaposition of positive and negative sentence forms, than one form of (conducive) 'yes/no' interrogative formally alike in Russian, English and French. These three languages achieve greater conciseness in this sentence type by the deletion of identical sentence constituents.

It would not be difficult to continue the list to show that (a) explicitness can be characterized very economically for very many — if not all — languages, (b) there are surprisingly few types of modification but enough to account for the development of conciseness. In what has been discussed so far it is possible to discern a modification which might be termed 'dative-raising', accounting for the conciseness of 1b, 2b, 2c. To account for 3b, 3c, 3d it is simply necessary to propose two modifications: 'interrogation' (or 'reordering') and 'equi-deletion'.[4] It is important to note that the most reasonable account of the French structure presupposes an explicit

4. *tu as froid, ce n'est pas que tu aies* (or *as*) *froid.*

Conciseness in these examples must result (i) from the human supposition that human agency can be the controlling factor in most things, and the personal is preferred to the impersonal; in syntactic terms an oblique case pronoun is converted into the subject of the sentence: 'dative-raising', (ii) from the case of recovering highly redundant items which are lost, together with the increasing load on the memory and time for communication. It would be surprising if there were not a strong tendency to concentrate information, making use of such signals of implicit meaning as order and omission of items.

[3] I am grateful to Bob Sloss of Cambridge University for information and confirmation on the Chinese example.

[4] It will be clear that the study is primarily a syntactic one, and reference is made to semantics only as far as it provides a basis for labelling such functions as 'conducive yes/no interrogative'. The formal analysis of language may propose a syntactically determined lexicon or, more usually, a lexically specified syntax. The role of lexis is quite different in (for one case) providing the verbal frame permitting or blocking 'dative-raising' (*devoir* as against *falloir*) or (for the other case) triggering 'equi – deletion'. Some degree of independence must be allowed for the lexical content of sentences if the syntactic interplay is to be fully explored.

It may well be asked why languages exhibit both explicit *and* concise sentence constituents if conciseness has the advantage of economy together with full meaning. But, of course, they do not have a 'full meaning' if there is no explicit alternative potentially available. In those circumstances where difficulties of communication arise, either through the differential language knowledge of two speakers or in a noisy environment, the greater explicitness available is a justification for the speaker's usual modifications. The balance between simplication for utterance and the assurance of interpretability is an important characteristic of language.

And a major simplification available to all speakers is the deletion of items which might otherwise be represented as a 'speech act' formula. The act of utterance presupposes, to the extent the utterance is more or less well-formed, an intention on the part of the speaker, and existence of the utterance presupposes the act of utterance. Although it is possible for the speaker to mark the speech act lexically as in

5. *I assert/claim* (etc) *that he cheats at cards*

a proposition of the kind is implied by the utterance alone

6. *he cheats at cards.*

Moreover the implication is usually that the speaker is asserting or claiming the truth of what is uttered. To block this implication the speaker may mark the speech act lexically

7. *I think that he cheats at cards.*

may ask a question

8. *does he cheat at cards?*

or may explicitly deny the presupposition,

9. *he doesn't cheat at cards.*

The speaker's responsibility for the truth of what he is saying, and the devices available for signalling the rejection of this responsibility, are of the greatest importance to any explanation of language use. A unified explanation of the subjunctive in modern French (cf. Bennett 1976) is possible only through an account of the role of speaker assertion.

The 'conduciveness' of an interrogative such as 3c or 3d results from its explicitness in ordering the positive before the negative. The syntax in each case is just sufficiently explicit to signal to the listener that the anticipated response is a positive one. On the other hand, if the interrogatives were otherwise ordered,

10a. *you aren't cold, are you?*
b. *tu n'as pas froid, oui?*

a negative response would be presupposed. If one were to claim that, in propositional terms, the utterance of a 'yes/no interrogative' is a presentation of both positive and negative assertions with a request for selection of one, the syntax of conducive questions preserves enough explicit information to guide the hearer's choice.

Against the explicitness of 3a and the comparative explicitness of the conducive interrogatives of French and English, the neutral 'yes/no interrogatives' of the two languages are an extreme of conciseness. Alongside 8, French has, as one of the syntactic forms of this interrogative

11. *est-ce qu'il triche aux cartes?*

This sentence shares both with English (as in 8) and the alternative syntactic form in French

12. *triche-t-il aux cartes?*

the result of a modification which reorders verb and subject. The French structures differ in the category of the item which is fronted by the reordering. It might reasonably be argued that the item fronted in 11, the more frequent of the two 'syntactic yes/no interrogatives', is an 'empty morpheme' of the type to which the *do* of English sentences like 8 is sometimes assigned. Of importance is the unusual main clause order of having a verbal item first, and significant the availability for both languages of a dummy or auxiliary verb to take this initial position.

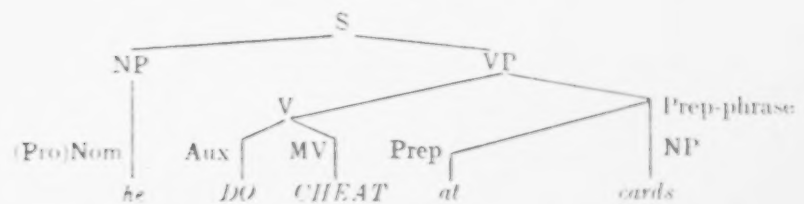
There is no clear and immediate relationship between meaning and these particular modifications. Some explanation might be possible in terms of the speaker's implicit response to focus on the verb, but this precludes a justification for the introduction of a dummy item at just that point where most information needs to be available. But the reordering involves items which appear elsewhere in the languages.

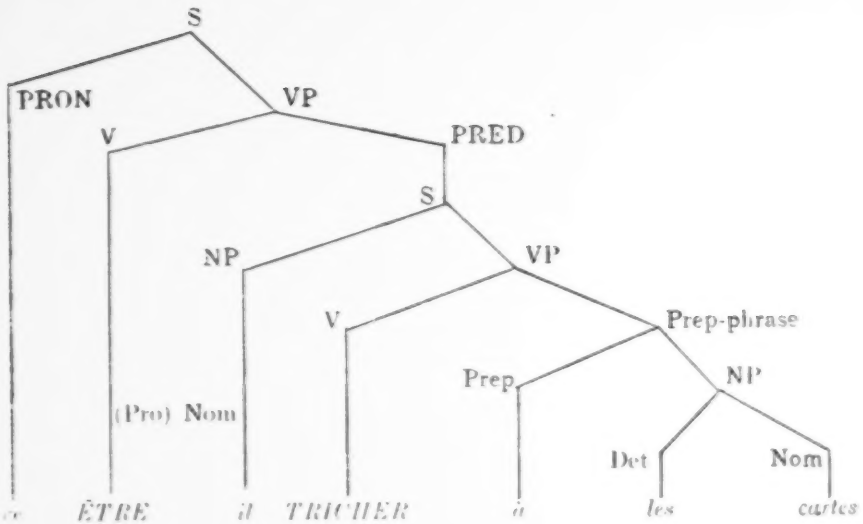
13a. *he does cheat at cards*

b. *c'est qu'il triche aux cartes*

are formally unrelated but are both (a) emphatic or assertive, in at least one meaning, (b) a possible formal source for 'yes/no interrogatives' in the two languages, although it is the underlying structures which would necessarily function as the sources:

FIGURE 1





There is no way at all for even native speakers to be able to say how it came about that they were using such sources and related structures, and asking them is not particularly helpful in the investigation of language. If one looks at the use made of language by any child in the world, and therefore irrespective of the specific language it would seem, one is aware of two distinct stages preceding what might be called the 'complication' of sophisticated language, as the child matures. The first stage is that of naming, denoting or 'labelling', while the next is that of coupling or 'concatenation'. These activities do not disppear as the individual grows but, as I have argued (Bennett 1974), persist as ways of categorising and sorting data throughout life, even though language facilitates a far different processing of data through 'complication' (this term, like the other two, is defined in Bennett 1974). Given the persistence of simplifying strategies it would not be surprising that native speakers of French regard [esk] as on interrogative prefix, and this is the analysis for which Roulet argued (1969 : 150). The particular strategies by which speaker/hearers rationalize their understanding of language may fall short of an explanation of the underlying relationships which support continued understanding by those speakers.

A similar problem arises in eliciting the views of adult native speakers of French about sentences such as 13b. The conditions attending the use of French during the last century make it unlikely that any speaker/hearer with the least amount of education will have a sense of spoken French as a language. A comparison of English and French is a comparison of written languages, and the content of such languages is prejudiced by the medium.

It is obvious that imperatives, vocatives, interrogatives and assertives are inappropriate to a use of language which is one-way. The 'rhetorical question' derives its effect from the very inappropriateness of having no immediate answer. In written use the 'pronoun' *ce* of *c'est* cannot be ostensive and must be textually referential. Consequently the sense of 13b in written language, and therefore most readily accessible to the consciousness of the native speaker is that of an emphatic referential, with a ready translation as "it's because he cheats at cards".

It is possible to discern another meaning for this structure, in, for example: "S'ils se trompaient, qu'il y aurait une loi de leur échec et que, sous certaines conditiones définissables, ils auraient pu réussir" (Foucault 1967 : 59). G. and R. Le Bidois (1935 : 122) acknowledged this other sense: 'Le langage populaire, ou même simplement familier, emploie volontiers *c'est que* d'une façon absolue ... La langue littéraire s'exprime parfois ainsi: "C'est que je me défie de lui, car il est raisonneur" Marivaux, Jeu de l'Amour II, 7. "C'est qu'il est encore lourd, pour un vieillard si maigre" A. Dumas, Monte-Cristo I, 20. Dans ces phrases, *c'est que* joue un double role: il souligne ce qui suit, en même temps qu'il suggère à l'esprit l'idee d'un rapport logique'. A similar problem of meaning does not attend the structure in English represented by sentence 13a.

Written French has available an emphatic (or assertive) negative, as in

14. *Non qu'il triche aux cartes,*

but one would search in vain for a positive partner to it. The ordinary negative,

15. *il ne triche pas aux cartes,*

is clearly a partner to the declarative

16. *il triche aux cartes.*

The spoken language equivalent to 14 is the negative of 13b

17. *ce n'est pas qu'il triche aux cartes.*

So syntactic evidence supports the argument that a contextually non-referential meaning of 13b exists, and we are justified in claiming that it is emphatic or better, because the emphasis is of the whole sentence, an assertive.

If the French sentence represented by 13b may be assertive a striking parallelism exists between French and English. In both languages the sole syntactic operation of reordering relates the assertive and the 'yes/no interrogative'. Moreover, a certain asymmetry between the sets containing these structures together with the negative and imperative in the two languages easily diverts attention from the formal relationship between the assertive

and the negative in each language. The items through which the relationships may be identified are quite different in the two languages, in English the verb *do* inflecting appropriatel for number, person and tense, in French the sentence constituent *c'est* absolved from inflection by usage and decree.[5]

It is worth noting here that an alternative 'yes/no interrogative' in French

18. *Jean, triche-t-il aux cartes?*

is related by simple reordering to a sentence

19. *Jean, il triche aux cartes*

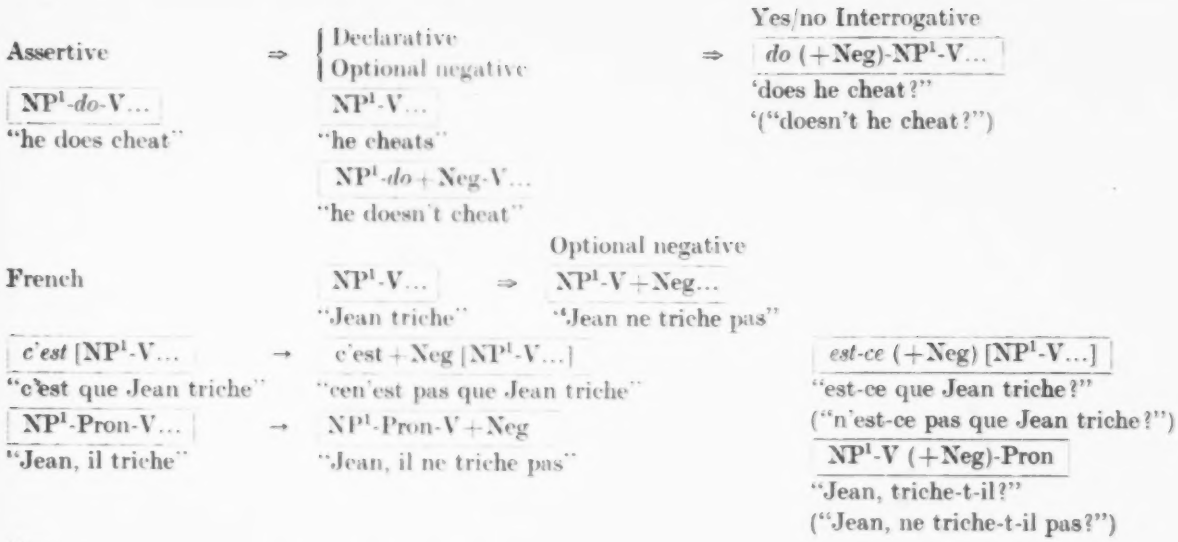
which if not strictly assertive is certainly emphatic, and not just emphasis of the first noun. Given the necessary syntactic reflexion of abstract relationships at the semantic level it is possible to explain why reordering of the declarative in modern French will not result in a grammatical sentence (**triche Jean aux cartes?*). In spoken French, of course, 'dislocated' sentences such as 19 are common but most analyses of European languages start from the written varieties. Again this is a case where the written language would offer the analyst no positive emphatic in explanation of other structures.

Figure 2 depicts the structural sets in the two languages. In French there are two negatives where in English there is only one. While negation may operate at each stage in French, it cannot operate on the declarative in modern English (**he cheats not at cards*[6]). Klima (1964 : 255) showed concern that regarding *do* as an auxiliary entailed that "'He does not leave" would be "He does leave" plus an optional *not*. The sentence without a helping verb "He leaves" would then have no parallel with *not*'. Whatever difference it might make to the argument about the categorisation of *do* in the long run, there should be no concern about an absence of a parallel negative for the declarative of modern English. The negative and declarative are related through their relationship to the assertive. The 'yes/no interrogative' of modern English is related to the other two through the assertive. There is, of course, a further optional negation which may operate on the 'yes/no interrogative'. In French negation operates more freely than is the case in modern English. While it may be only focus which distinguishes the negative sentence 17 from

[5] Such a decree was that of 26th February 1901 (VIII, 9) "Comme il règne une grande diversité d'usage relativement a l'emploi régulier de *c'est* ou de *ce sont*, et que les meilleurs auteurs ont employé *c'est* pour annoncer un substantif au pluriel, on tolérera dans tous les cas l'emploi de *c'est* au lieu de *ce sont*".

[6] This negative, of course, is not meaningless or even ungrammatical for the English speaker — simply archaic. It represents an earlier stage of the language, the parallel with French thus having been even more extensive than it is at present. The difference between the languages has resulted in this case from the simplification of the set in English by the omission of the second negative, the 'negative declarative'.

Figure 2



Key:
Double arrows represent transformational relations
Single arrows indicate the particular structures which are linked
Boxes enclose structural descriptions

20. *c'est qu'il ne triche pas aux cartes,*

there is a sharp meaning differential between either of these sentences and 15. Although modern English is quite able to give representation to such a difference of meaning, for example, by contrasting 9 and sentences like "I don't say that he cheats...", "it isn't the case that he cheats...", there is no normal syntactic device for contrasting assertion and declaration in the negative. Nor does English have anything to compare with the set, of which sentences 18 and 19 would be members, which closely resembles the 'c'est que...' set in its semantic-structural interrelations. French is not alone in having colloquial sentence forms in which the topic is presented first, followed by a comment in the form of a proposition. Given the need for speakers to capture the attention of others, and to ensure that the topic is grasped, the order and form of 19 is not surprising.

21. *John, he cheats at cards*

plays no part in the structural organisation of English, as the comparable (assertive) sentence does in French. And French has the same kinds of modification in both sets *in the representation of equivalent meanings.*

While the system of negations results in many more possibilities for French there is no difference in the parameters along which the two languages operate in representing a small but important set of functions: assertion, declaration, negation and interrogation are related by deletion, insertion and reordering. It could be added that the imperative in the two languages is derived also by deletion. The striking degree of similarity between the two languages in syntactic development over this small area is in marked contrast to the apparent dissimilarity of the items involved in the principal modifications.

For reasons which were indicated in the opening part of this paper, syntactic arrangements in a sentence or sentence constituent cannot be expected to represent directly the meaning or even, more modest requirement, the function of the item. There is a constant tension between the drive to conciseness and the demands of explicitness, and languages will be moving in different ways and at different rates under these twin pressures. The comparison of small randomly chosen samples is bound to be unrewarding. However, certain areas of language use are necessarily more stable than others, and the use of language to assert, to declare, to request information or response behaviour must be amongst the foremost of these. In a 'meaning-set' defined by such functions it seems probable that simplicity and stability of structural information will ensure the compromise between explicitness and conciseness that has been clear, in spite of differences of detail, in French and English. It is through the study of such 'meaning-sets' that languages may be compared, for it must constantly be asked how speakers of the languages compared easily produce and understand the information conveyed through syntactic modification when they assert something or request a choice of assertions.

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THE USE OF THE ARTICLE IN ENGLISH AND HUNGARIAN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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This paper primarily considers the question of how determination is expressed in English and Hungarian. The ultimate aim is to identify similarities and differences in the use of determiners — especially in that of articles.

In the first part of this paper the theoretical framework for the research is presented. The definition of determiners is followed by the classification of nouns to provide context for the description of article distribution. The second part presents the contrastive analysis of article usage in their relation to different types of nouns functioning in different syntactic positions. Special consideration is given to changes in article usage in sentence sequences. The statements are illustrated by an ample number of examples. The paper ends up with a small section illustrating some of the problems in English, Hungarian and Polish.

Every language has certain categories to make the expression of ideas and thoughts both precise and understandable. One of the means for achieving clarity is determination. The process of determination may vary in different languages. In both English and Hungarian there is a small closed set of grammatical words that, while unrelated formally, are related by function. The common role they perform is referred to as determination, these function words are the determiners.

Determiners are modifiers of nouns (they modify the scope of the set designated by the noun that follows). Determiners in both English and Hungarian can be classified in several ways: (1) as definite and indefinite — in reference to various features like individualization, identification, selection, etc., and (2) as pre-, central and postmodifiers in reference to distribution within the noun phrase. Being the most frequently used member of central determiners in both English and Hungarian, the article is in the centre of our analysis in the course of this paper.

The hand-outs show 4 tables. Table I gives the list of English and Hungarian determiners which shows that numerals, quantifiers and ordinals are also considered as determiners. Table II and III give the distribution of English and Hungarian determiners respectively. In both tables Group I determiners exclude each other in a noun phrase. In reference to distribution these de-

Table I. List of English and Hungarian determiners

English	Hungarian
∅	∅
a/an	egy
the	a/az
some /sm/	—
some$_1$, any$_1$	néhány, némi, valamelyes, valamennyi
some$_2$ (aff.), any$_1$ (inter.)	valamilyen, valamiféle
any$_1$ (aff.)	akármilyen, bármilyen, bármiféle
not any/no	semmi... sem, nem + V, nines... sem,
this/that, these/those	ez/az (a), ezek/azok (a)
my, your, his, her, ...	poss. suffixes: (én)...-m, (te)...-d, (ő)...-é, ...
every, each	mindegyik, mindenegyes
either	(az) egyik, bármelyik
neither	egyik sem, semelyik
both	mindkét, mindkettő
whole, all/_N[−Count]	egész, teljes
all/_N[−Count]	(az) összes, mind(en), valamennyi
half	fél
(the) very	éppen ez/az (a)
(the) same	ugyanez/-az (a), azonos
(a) certain	(egy) bizonyos
such (a)	ilyen/olyan (egy)
(an)other	(egy) más/másik; (a) többi
(the) only	egyetlen
many/much	sok
few/little	kevés
a few/little	néhány/egy kevés
2, 3, 4, 5, ...	2, 3, 4, 5, ...
first, second, third, ...	első, második, harmadik, ...

terminers are central determiners. Group II determiners can modify a noun alone, but they can combine with articles and /or other determiners of Group I/A (in Hungarian also with Group II/A), and some of them with each other. In reference to distribution determiners of Group II are pre-, or postdeterminers in relation to each other. Group III determiners must be accompanied by an article or another determiner from Group I/A. The elements of these combinations form a permanent set. Finally, Table IV in the hand-out shows the relationship of articles to other determiners in English and Hungarian.

In both languages there are 3 articles: definite, indefinite and zero. The

Table II. Distribution of English determiners

Determiners		
Pre-	Central	Post-
Group II	*Group I/A*	*Group II*
both*	the	whole
all*	a/an	certain
half	this/that	other
such	these/those	few**
many	my, your, his,...	little**
		many
		much
		several
		first, second,...
Group III	*Group I/B*	*Group III*
quite	some/any	same
	no	very
	every/each	only
	(n)either	

* can occur after the noun it modifies.

** *a few, a little* can be considered as the combination of the indefinite article plus the quantifier only from a formal point of view, since the indefinite article proper cannot occur with either plural countable or uncountable nouns.

Table III. Distribution of Hungarian determiners

Determiners		
Pre-	Central	Post-
Group II	*Group I/A*	*Group II/A*
mindkét	a/az	...-m, -d, -ó, ...
	egy	
Group III	*Group I/B*	*Group II/B*
az/ez	némi	néhány
azok/ezek	valamelyes	egész/teljes
éppen ez/az	valamilyen/-féle	összes
ugyanez/-az	bármilyen/-féle	fél
(and their plural forms)	akármilyen/-féle	ilyen/olyan
	semmi	ugyanilyen/-olyan
	mindegyik/mindenegyes	azonos
	akár-/bármelyik	bizonyos
	mind(en)/valamennyi	másik/más
	egyik... sem	egyetlen
		sok
		kevés
		első, második, ...
		Group III
		egyik
		többi

articles almost always occur as the first member of the phrase signalling the presence of a noun, but each of them also signals something additional.

The definite article (*the a/az*) in both languages may be used before singular as well as plural forms. In the majority of cases it indicates that the following noun refers to a particular human being, animate object or thing — as distinct from others of the same kind — known by both the speaker and hearer.

The definite article may be required (1) before a noun defined earlier

Table IV[1]. *Relationship of articles to other determiners in English and Hungarian (+ indicates occurrence, — indicates non-occurrence)*

	a	a/an	the	*a*	egy	a/az	
demonstrative	+	—	—	—	—	+	demonstrative
possessive	+	—	—	+	+	+	possessive suffix
some$_1$, any$_1$	+	—	—	+	—	—	némi, valamelyes
				+	+	+	néhány
some$_2$, any$_2$	+	—	—	+	—	—	valamilyen, bármilyen, akármilyen, valamiféle, bármiféle
not any, no	+	—	—	+	+	+	nem/nincs ... sem
				+	—	—	semmi ... sem
every, each	+	—	—	+	—	—	mindegyik, mindenegyes
neither	+	—	—	+	—	—	semelyik, egyik ... sem
either	+	—	—	+	—	+	egyik, (másik)
both	+	—	+	+	—	+	mindkettő, mindkét
whole, all$_1$	+	+	+	+	+	+	egész, teljes
all$_2$	+	—	+	+	—	—	mind, minden, valamennyi
				+	—	+	összes
half	+	+	+	+	+	+	fél
very, same	—	—	+	—	—	+	éppen ez/az, ugyanez/-az
only*	—	—	+	+	—	+	egyetlen
certain	+	+	+	+	+	+	bizonyos
such	+	+	—	+	+	+	ilyen/olyan
other	+	+	+	+	+	+	másik, más
				—	—	+	többi
many, few	+	+	+	+	—	+	sok, kevés
much	+	—	—	+	—	+	sok
little	+	+	+	+	+	+	kevés
several	+	—	+	+	—	+	számos
1, 2, 3, 4, ...	+	—	+	+	—	+	1, 2, 3, 4, ...
ordinals	+	+	+	+	+	+	ordinals

* *an only*, a set phrase where *only* occurs with the indefinite article.

[1] The determiners represented in Table IV are not complete equivalents in English and Hungarian (in regard to their range), nor is the list exhaustive.

by previous mention in the discourse (i.e., explicit-contextual basis[2]), (2) before nouns, the referents of which are mutually known from previous discourse (i.e., implicit-contextual basis[2]) or (*d*) before a noun the referent of which can be indicated without having been mentioned previously (i.e., situational basis):

(1) There is *a* book on the table. *The* book is blue.
Egy könyv van az asztalon. A könyv kék.
(Lit. A book is the table-on. The book blue.)

(2) There is *a* school in the neighborhood. During the breaks *the* windows are open, and the children in *the* classrooms are noisy.
A szomszédban van *egy* iskola. A szünetekben *az* ablakok nyitva vannak
(The { neighbor- / hood-in } is a school. The break-s-in the window-s are open
és a gyermekek lármáznak *az* osztályokban.
(Open are and the children ind-they the class-es in.)
(make noise)

(*d*a) Give me *the* book.
Add ide *a* könyvet.
(Give here the book-(acc.))
(narrowest sense)

(*d*b) This year *the* conference is being held in Lubostronie.
Ebben az évben *a* konferenciát Lubostronieben tartják.
(This- the year-the conference- Lubostronie-in hold-they.)
-in -in -(acc.)
(wider sense)

(*d*c) *The* sun shines brightly in Egypt all year.
Egész évben ragyogóan süt Egyiptomban *a* nap.
(Whole year-in bright-ly shine Egypt-in the sun).
(widest sense)

The indefinite article (*a/an — egy*) in both languages is used with countable nouns in the singular. In the case of uncountable nouns the indefinite article expresses *a kind of/a sort of/a piece of*. The indefinite article indicates that the word it precedes denotes an individual member of the class. It denotes one member of the class or species concerned but it does not indicate which member (Jespersen 1913, 1949). Besides its introductory and individualizing function in specified noun phrases, the indefinite article can also express generieness in English. Recently several linguists, like Gleason (1955), Hill (1958), Palmer (1969), have analyzed the unstressed variant of *some* [sm] as an article used with uncountable nouns in the singular and with countable nouns in the plural:

[2] Christophersen's term (1939).

(4) Give me *some* bread, please.
Some boys are running in the street.

Hungarian does not always have an overt counterpart for this use of English *some*. Further clarification is needed to determine which of the uses of *some* are considered as articles and which of them as other determiners.

The zero article (ø) — probably because it has neither phonologic, nor graphemic overt form — was generally neglected earlier. However, the absence or omission of an article in the two languages does not always indicate that a noun has lost its nominal function, because e.g., it is used as a phrase head in the case of non-individualized singular countable nouns in Hungarian, and it is determined as in the case of proper names in both English and Hungarian:

(5) ø Virág nő a kertben.
(Flower grow the garden-in).
Kwiat rośnie w ogrodzie.

(6) ø John came home late last night.

ø János	későn	jött	haza	tegnap	este.
(John	late-	came	home	yesterday	evening.)
	-(+adv. suffix)				

Distinction must be made, of course, between the cases with the zero article and those where the noun phrase contains a determiner other than an article.

Articles must refer to nouns, while nouns can occur without articles, i.e., with the zero article or other determiners. Nouns constitute an open class, have full meaning and inherent stress, and can act as head of a noun phrase. For futher analysis of determiners nouns must be examined by reference to number. English nouns fall into two major number classes. One class contains nouns where the singular-plural distinction occurs, the other where the nouns are not subject to number variation. From the several terms applied to this distinction, in this paper we call the former class countable and the latter class uncountable. However, the classification of nouns in reference to countability has not been developed so strongly in Hungarian as in English therefore the occurrence of errors in the English speech of Hungarians is frequent (number-quantity distinction in English *much-many, few-little*).

A noun phrase in English and Hungarian consists of a noun-head modified by a determiner. Besides the noun and determiner a noun phrase may contain an adjectival or nominal attributive. In the use of determiners it is also important which syntactic position the noun phrase takes in the sentence. The role of a determiner in both English and Hungarian is to restrict or widen, to specify or generalize the meaning of the modified noun. A noun specified by the situation or content is actualized and individualized in English, but not always in Hungarian:

(7) *ø* Egér van a szobában. [−Indiv, −Act]
(Mouse is the room-in.)
There is *a* mouse / There are *mice* } in the room. [+Indiv]

(8) *Egy* egér van a szobában. [+Indiv, −Act]
(A mouse is the room-in.)
There is *a* mouse in the room.

(9) *Az* egér a szobában van. [+Indiv, +Act]
(The mouse the room-in is.)
The mouse is in the room.

Definiteness is a syntactic category which applies to both countable and uncountable nouns in a noun phrase. In the case of countable nouns it applies only to individualized nouns. The most important elements of definiteness are identification [−Y] and actualization [+Act] which are characteristic features of the definite article and demonstrative in both English and Hungarian. Their difference lies in the deixis. In English the demonstrative and the definite article exclude each other. However, in Hungarian the demonstrative generally does not occur without the definite article (see: Table IV):

(10) *This* book is yours, *that* book is mine.
Ez a konyv a tied, *az a* kőnyv az enyém.
(This the book the yours that the book the mine.)

Possessive adjectives also express definiteness.

Not all noun phrases in either language go through a complete process of definization. In the case of countable nouns there are individualized but not actualized noun phrases as well which can be expressed by the indefinite article:

(11) *A* boy played with a ball in the courtyard.
Egy fiú labdázott az udvaron.
(A boy ball+deverb suff.+past tense the courtyard-on.)
(played with a ball)

Other indefinite determiners do not individualize the nouns they modify, but they can define the agglomerations or express totality for both countable and uncountable nouns:

(12) *All* boys like to play football.
Minden/Valamennyi fiú szeret futballozni.
(All boy like* football+deverb. suff+inf. suff.)
(to play football)

(13) It was raining *all* day.
Egész nap esett az eső.
(Whole day fell the rain.)
(14) He ate a *whole* apple.

Egy *egész*	almát	megevett.
(A whole	apple+(acc.)	has-eaten-he.)

Owing to lack of time the modification of noun phrases is not analyzed in this paper.

After the part showing the place and role of determiners in a noun phrase only the use of the article is examined in noun phrases functioning in different syntactic functions: (1) in subject function, (2) in object complement function, and finally (3) in predicate (subject complement) function. Genericness is only slightly touched upon. Examples are given to show similar, different, and partly different cases in the two languages.

An uncountable noun functioning as subject denoting a material object is preceded by the zero article in both languages:

(15) $\text{Art}_{E,H} \rightarrow \text{ø} \; / \; _N \; [-\text{Count}, +\text{Concr}]$
ø Blood runs in his veins.
ø Vér folyik az ereiben.
(Blood flow-s the vein-s-his-in.)

While an uncountable noun referring to an abstract notion occurs with the zero article in English, but generally with the definite article in Hungarian, therefore HLE (Hungarian learners of English) often commit errors:

(16) $\text{Art}_{E} \rightarrow \text{ø} \quad / \; _N \; [-\text{Count}, -\text{Concr}]$
$\text{Art}_{H} \rightarrow \text{def} \; / \; (\text{ø})$
ø Time flies.
Az idő repül.
(The time fly.)

The same can be stated about uncountable nouns functioning as object when a habitual action is expressed:

(17) $\text{Art}_{E,H} \rightarrow \text{ø} \; / \; _N \; [-\text{Count}, +\text{Concr}]$
The baby drinks ø milk every morning.

A kisbaba	minden	reggel	ø tejet	iszik.
(The little-baby	every	morning	milk-(acc)	drinks-he.)

or with nouns denoting abstract notion in a generic sense:

(18) $\text{Art}_{E} \rightarrow \text{ø} \quad / \; N \; [-\text{Count}, -\text{Concr}, -\text{Specific}]$
$\text{Art}_{H} \rightarrow \text{def}$
I like ø music.

Szeretem *a* zenét.
(Love-I (def.) the music- (acc.).)

But frequently nouns denoting a material object occur with *some* in English and with the zero article in Hungarian:

(19) $Art_E \rightarrow$ some [−Def]
$Art_H \rightarrow$ ø / _N [−Count, +Concr]
or $Det_H \rightarrow$ egy kis [−Def, +Quant]
I have bought *some* cheese and *some* cream.
ø Sajtot és ø tejszínt vettem.
(Cheese- (acc.) and cream- (acc.) bought-I.)

Hungarians generally omit *some* in their speech. The use of *some* in object function is much more frequent than in subject possition.

When nouns are defined by the context or situation the definite article is used in both languages:

(20) $Art_{E,H} \rightarrow$ def / _N [−Count, +Concr, +Act]
Pass me *the* salt, please.
Add ide *a* sót, kérlek.
(Give here the salt-(acc.) ask-you-I.)
(21) $Art_{E,H} \rightarrow$ def / _N [−Count, −Concr, +Act]
Let's listen to *the* music.
Hallgassuk *a* zenét.
(Listen-let's-(def.) the music-(acc.).)

When an uncountable noun refers to an indefinite occurrence of the phenomenon in question both the zero article and *some* can be used in English, while in Hungarian the zero article can vary with the quantifying determiner *egy kis*:

(22) $Art_E \rightarrow$ ø/some [−Def]
$Art_H \rightarrow$ ø / _N [−Count, −Concr]
or $Det_H \rightarrow$ egy kis [−Def, +Quant]
Let's listen to ø/*some* music.
Hallgassunk ø/*egy kis* zenét.
(Listen-let's-(indef.) ø/a little music-(acc.).)

Problems also occur when one language considers a noun as uncountable while the other as countable e.g., English: *information* — Hungarian: *információ/-k*, English: *advice* — Hungarian: *tanács/-ok*.

In the case of countable nouns in the singular, article usage differs in the two languages where no other determiner is present. In English this form must

occur with either the definite or indefinite article while in Hungarian it may occur with the zero article as well. The reason is that the opposition between individualized and non-individualized meaning is not overtly marked in English (see: examples (5), (7) mentioned earlier). The problem is also complicated with the use of existential *there* (*is/are*) in English locative sentences which have no overt counterparts in Hungarian unlike French and German.

These statements are also true for nouns functioning as objects. However, there are word-order restrictions on the occurrence of the articles in Hungarian, where the singular countable nouns with the zero article in object function usually precedes the governing verb (S-O-V), while with the indefinite and definite article the neutral position for the object noun is after the verb (S-V-O), when it is emphasized, the noun may precede the verb:

(23) $Art_E \rightarrow$ def/indef /_N [+Count, −Plural]
$Art_H \rightarrow$ def/indef/ø
What are you doing?
I am writing *a* letter.

(23a) ø Levelet irok.
(Letter-(acc.) write-I (indef).)

(b) Irok *egy* levelet.
(Write-I (indef.) a letter-.)
-(acc.)

(c) *Egy* levelet irok.
(A letter-(acc.) write-I-.)
-(indef)
(i.e., It is a letter I am writing.)

(24) I am writing *the* letter.

(a) Irom *a* levelet. ...
(Write-I (def) the letter-(acc).)

(b) *A* levelet irom.
(The letter-(acc.) write-I (def).)
(It is the letter I am writing.)

With plural countable nouns *some* may occur in English, while in Hungarian the zero article or the determiner *néhány* occurs. It causes similar problems for Hungarians as it does with uncountable nouns mentioned earlier:

(25, 26) $Art_E \rightarrow$ ø/some/_N [+Count, +Plural, −Act]
$Art_H \rightarrow$ ø /_N [+Count, +Plural, −Act]
$Det_H \rightarrow$ néhány

(25) There are *some* rocks on the coast.
ø Sziklák vannak a parton.
(Rock-s are the coast-on.)
Néhány szikla van a parton.
(Some rock is the coast-on.)

(26) Steve bought *some*/ø books at a sale.
Pista vett *néhány* könyvet a kiárusitáson.
(Steve bought some book-(acc.) the sale-on.)
Pista *néhány* könyvet vett a kiárusitáson.
(Steve some book-(acc.) bought the sale-on.)
Pista ø könyveket vett a kiárusitáson.
(Steve book-s-(acc.) bought the sale-on.
Pista vett ø könyveket a kiárusitáson.
(Steve bought book-s-(acc.) the sale-on.)

The problem becomes more difficult when the plural form is used in one language and the singular in the other to express the same idea, i.e., with nouns denoting parts of the human body:

(27, 28) $\text{Det}_E \rightarrow$ Det [+Poss]
or Art $\rightarrow$ def/ø /_N [+Count, +Plural]
$\text{Det}_H \rightarrow$ Det [+Poss]
and/or $\text{Art}_H \rightarrow$ def/ø /_N [+Count, −Plural]
(27) to shake ø hands
ø kezet fogni
(hand-(acc.) hold-to)
(28) He fixed *his* eyes on the horizon.
ø Szemét a látóhatárra szögezte.
(Eye-his-(acc.) the horizon-on fixed-he.)

Finally, nouns functioning as the nominal part of the predicate (as subject complement) are analyzed in their relation to article usage.

An uncountable noun functioning as nominal predicate does not cause any problem since in both languages the zero article is used:

(29) $\text{Art}_{E,H} \rightarrow$ ø/0N [−Count, +Concr]
Water becomes ø steam at a high temperature.
A viz magas hömérsékleten ø gözzé válik.
(The water high temperature-on steam-(suffix.) becomes-it.)

A singular countable noun denoting the class to which the subject belongs is generally preceded by the indefinite article in English, but in Hungarian it is used with the zero article, and precedes the verbal predicate if there is one; while a plural countable noun takes the zero article in both languages:

(30, 31) $\text{Art}_E \rightarrow$ indef. /_N [+Count, −Plural]
$\text{Art}_H \rightarrow$ ø
(30) John is *a* linguist.
János ø nyelvész.
(John linguist.)

(31) I am *a* Hungarian.
ø Magyar vagyok.
(Hungarian am-I.)

(32) $Art_{E,H} \rightarrow ø/_N$ [+Count, +Plural]
John and Peter are ø boys.
János és Péter ø fiúk.
(John and Peter boys.)

In cases when the definite article is used before a noun functioning as a predicate its appearance is unrelated to its predicate function:

(33) $Art_E \rightarrow$ def.
/_M [+Restr] + N [+Count, −Plural, +Y]
$Det_H \rightarrow$ Dem + Art [+Def]
John is *the* linguist whose works are best-known.
János *az a* nyelvész, akinek a művei a legismertebbek.
(John that the linguist who-of the work-s-his the most known-(pl.)

For lack of time the given cases only show the basic uses of the article, no special occurrences are touched upon. It can be seen from the above statements and examples that while both languages have the same set of articles their use differs. While English has fixed word-order, in Hungarian a change in word-order also has some role in expressing determination or at least has some relation to article usage. At this point it may be interesting to see a few examples in three languages i.e., in English, Polish and Hungarian where Polish has no articles and has free word-order (at least in opposition to English).

Every discourse contains some old and new information. In marking the distribution of information stress, intonation as well as word-order have important roles. Since neutral sentence stress generally has final position in Polish therefore the linguistic element containing new information is also placed finally, independently from the grammatical (i.e., syntactical) function it fulfills. The known, already mentioned information is placed sentence-initially. So topic-comment also influences the sentence structure of languages with free word-order.

Word-order plays an important role in anaphoric sentences. While in an independent sentence several types of word-order are possible, in sentence sequences that is not the case:

(34) W pokoju siedział chłopiec.
A boy was sitting in the room.
Egy fiú ült a szobában.
(A boy sat the room-in.)

(a) Wyszedł chłopiec. A boy went out. Egy fiú kiment.
(A boy out-went.)
(b) Chłopiec wyszedł. The boy went out. A fiú kiment.
(The boy out-went.)

In all three languages only sentence (b) can be correct in relation to sentence (34) since in the case of sentence (a) the noun is not co-referent with that of sentence (34).

A noun is considered definite in sentence-initial position and indefinite in final position in Polish. So the idea is expressed by word-order in Polish which is expressed by the articles in English and Hungarian:

(35) Chłopiec dał kotu piłkę.
The boy gave the cat a ball.
A fiú adott a macskának egy labdát.
(The boy gave the cat-to a ball-(acc.).)
(36) Chłopiec dał piłkę kotu.
The boy gave the ball to a cat.
A labdát a fiú egy macskának adta.
(The ball-(acc.) the boy a cat-to gave-he.)
(37) Kotu piłkę dał chłopiec.
A boy gave the ball to the cat.
Egy fiú adta a macskának a labdát.
(A boy gave-he the cat-to the ball-(acc.).)

However the demonstrative *ten, ta, to, ci, te* and the indefinite pronoun *jakiś* can also express reference and definiteness in Polish:

(38) Wykradł milicjantowi rewolwer.
He stole a gun from the policeman.
Ellopott a rendőrtől egy revolvert.
(Away-stole-he the policeman-from a revolver-(acc.).)
(a) *Ten* milicjant siedział za to.
Therefore *the* policeman was in prison.
Ezért *a* rendőr börtönben volt.
(This-for the policeman prison-in was.)
(b) Milicjant siedział za to.
Therefore *the* policeman was in prison.
Ezért *a* rendőr börtönben volt.
(This-for the policeman prison-in was.)
(c) Siedział za to *ten* milicjant.
(In English it is the same as [a] and [b].)
Ezért börtönben volt *a* rendőr.
(This-for prison-in was the policeman.)

(d) Siedział za to o milicjant.
Therefore *a* policeman was in prison.
Ezért *egy* rendőr börtönben volt.
(This-for a policeman prison-in was.)
Ezért börtönben volt *egy* rendőr.
(This-for prison-in was a policeman.)

Difference in meaning occurs only in the last example (d) where word-order has changed and *ten* does not occur. Where the demonstrative *ten* occurs with the noun in final position it still remains definite: *The policeman was in prison*; while where the noun occurs with the zero article it becomes indefinite: *A policeman was in prison*—not the same whose gun was stolen.

The indefinite *jakiś* can also overrule word-order in Polish:

(39) Widziałam jak do pokoju wchodził mężczyzna.
I saw that *a* man entered the room.
Láttam, hogy *egy* férfi belépett a szobába.
(Saw-I that a man in-entered the room-into.)

(a) Kiedy weszłam zobaczyłam, że mężczyzna stoi przy oknie.
When I entered the room I saw that *the* man was standing in front of the window.
Amikor beléptem láttam, hogy *a* férfi az ablak előtt.
(When in-entered-I saw-I that the man the window before all stand.)

(b) Kiedy weszłam zobaczyłam, że przy oknie stoi mężczyzna.
When I entered the room I saw that *a* man was standing in front of the window.
Amikor beléptem láttam, hogy *egy* férfi áll az ablak előtt.
(When in-entered-I saw-I that a man stand the window before.)

(c) Kiedy weszłam zobaczyłam, że *jakiś* mężczyzna stoi przy oknie.
When I entered the room I saw that *a/some* man was standing in front of the window.
Amikor beléptem láttam, hogy az ablak előtt *egy/valamilyen* férfi áll.
(When in-entered saw-I that the window before a/some man stand.)

In example (a) the man is identified with the one who entered the room, in examples (b, c) it is a different man. This difference can be expressed in Polish by word-order change (example b) and by *jakiś* (example c) marking the indefiniteness overtly on the surface. The same difference is expressed with the help of the definite and indefinite article in both English and Hungarian.

My aim was to illustrate the role of determination in two languages which are dissimilar in character but use the same set of articles though not according to identical patterns. The few Polish examples served the purpose of showing what means a language that does not possess any articles has to express determination.

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A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF *WHO*, *WHAT*, *WHOSE*, AND *WHICH* AND THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN POLISH

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Question Words (QW) in English have often been derived from indefinite NP's. In most transformational treatments these NP's have been assigned the status of pro-forms with *Wh* as a scope indicator or indexer attached to them.

The arguments for deriving (QW's from indefinite NP's have been discussed by numerous authors; Ross (1967), Bach (1971), Lewandowska (1971), and Stockwell et al (1973), among others.

However, the indefiniteness of QW's in English has been put into question by some linguists. Koutsoudas (1968), Kuroda (1968), and Lewandowska (1975), for example, argue that Wh constituent for interrogative can be either (+Definite) or (—Definite), yielding either 'at which place' or 'at what place' if place is (—Attach) or 'where' if place is (+Attach).[1]

Browne's (1970) study on QW's in Macedonian demonstrates that a distinction must be made between *koho* (who/whom) which appears in questions both with and without the definiteness-indicator clitic *go* and is thus definite or indefinite, and *sto* (what) which is always indefinite.

Also Hewer (1976 : 10) points out that in Kasem the determiner in a NP may be replaced by the question determiner *-ó* (which) if "... the question determiner also agrees with the noun, by bearing the initial consonant of the definite article that agrees with the particular class and number of the noun".

As is well known most transformational analyses relate surface occurrences of QW's to two constituents; *Wh* and N. *Wh*, common to all QW's ,has been usually suspended from Determiner node, e.g. Article, and has been the underlying form for the phonological shape of QW's in English. N, which is sister

[1] For details cf. Lewandowska (1974 : 25).

adjoined under Determiner node, has been assigned the feature (+Pro) and has been the constituent which distinguishes among different QW's by virtue of possessing different lexical meaning.[2]

However, as has been pointed out by Koutsoudas (1968 : 268), some QW's, e.g. *When*, *Where*, *Why*, and *How* have been derived from a slightly different underlying structure than *Who*, *What*, and *Which* in the analysis proposed by Katz and Postal (1964); the former, but not the latter, contain a Preposition in their underlying structures. Moreover, Katz and Postal (1964) derive *When*, *Where*, *How*, and *Why* from 'at what time', 'at what place', in what manner', and 'for what reason', respectively, whereas Kuroda (1968) derives these QW's from 'at which time', 'at which place', 'in which way', and 'for which reason'.

The above discussion seems to indicate that in the current literature the problem of definiteness versus indefiniteness of Wh, and consequently of NP underlying QW's, is still an open question. We saw above that the assignment of the feature (−Definite) to NP's underlying QW's was based upon the assumption that this feature could be used to characterize 'which' underlying surface occurrences of *When*, *Where*, *How*, and *Why*. Despite the fact that exactly the same surface occurrences of the above mentioned QW's were characterized as being (-Definite) by those linguists who proposed to derive *When*, *Where*, etc., from 'at what time', 'at what place', etc., the former approach was inconsistent in deriving *When*, *Where*, etc., from definite NP's and *Who*, *What*, etc., from indefinite NP's.

In our opinion the controversy stems from a confusion of underlying semantic features, (+Definite) and (-Definite) in this case, with the real occurrences of *Which* and *What* in the surface forms of Special Questions (SQ) in English, and from the fact that the semantic characterization of QW's has been equated with the pragmatic presuppositions that can be associated with QW's occurring in SQ's. We shall dwell a little on the latter issue.

It has been widely acknowldged that QW's occur in SQ's to indicate the ignorance of the speaker about someone's identity or the place of event, etc.; hence the occurrences of *Who*, *Where*, etc., in the surface forms of SQ's. *Who*, *Where*, etc., occur in SQ's whenever the speaker is assuming that the entities about which these QW's are asking do exist but it is the addressee (the one who provides the answer, in this case) who has the sufficient knowledge of their identity or place of existence, etc.[3]

The acceptance of the view that NP's underlying QW's are marked as (+Definite) would eventually lead to contradiction; the speaker in uttering a SQ containing, for instance, *Who*, would be referring to some entity in the outside

[2] Cf. Grosu (1975) on the structure of fronted Wh phrases.

[3] Cf. Chafe (1970 : 325 - 326).

world as being definite. However, it is difficult to see how one can refer to something as being definite without knowing what it is. More precisely, how can the speaker refer to an NP as being definite if he does not know the referent of this NP. In other words, an analysis that postulates (+Definite) as a feature for NP's underlying QW's must explain on what grounds NP's underlying QW's can be assigned the feature (+Definite) if the referents of these NP's are not given.

Let us now consider a case where *Who* in English and *Kto* in Polish occur in SQ's which contain definite NP's although the two QW's are asking about the definite NP's in question. An interesting case is discussed in Donnellan (1971). The discussion is focused on the two uses of *Who* as exemplified in 1 and 3 below.

1. Who is the man drinking a martini?
2. Kto jest ten człowiek/kto jest tym człowiekiem, który pije martini?

If 1, according to Donnellan, is uttered by someone at a party upon seeing an interesting-looking person holding a martini glass, then Y is asking about a particular person. However, says Donnellan, the same question can be asked in a different context. Suppose, for example, that the same question (we shall label it as 3) is asked by the chairman of the local Teetotallers Union who has just been informed that a man is drinking a martini at their annual party. He responds by asking his informant 3.

3. Who is the man drinking a martini?
4. Kto to jest ten człowiek/..., który pije martini?

The chairman in asking 3 does not have some particular person in mind. Donnellan then explains that the use of *Who* in 1 can be related to the referential use of definite descriptions and the use of *Who* in 3 can be related to the attributive use of definite descriptions (Donnellan 1971 : 104).

Leaving the problems involved in the discussion of definite descriptions for philosophers let us now see how the two uses of *Who* can be accounted for in a linguistic theory.

We shall begin by adding one more question with *Who* to those already mentioned in Donnellan (1971).

5. Who is drinking a martini?
6. Kto pije martini?

To explain differences among (1 - 6) we shall investigate the presuppositions that the speaker is making upon uttering (1 - 6). (7 - 12) below are the respective presuppositions for (1 - 6).

7. The man drinking a martini is someone.
8. Człowiekiem, który pije martini jest ktoś.

9. Someone is the man drinking a martini.
10. Ktoś jest człowiekiem, który pije martini.
11. Someone is drinking a martini.
12. Ktoś pije martini.

For the sake of clarity of the argument let us substitute the English term *the man* and its Polish translation *człowiek* by a more neutral pair; *the person* and *osoba* for English and Polish respectively. We can do that because *the man* in the English examples as well as *człowiek* in the Polish counterparts do not necessarily have to be used to mean a person who is male. On the other hand *person* in English and *osoba* in Polish can be used to mean both sexes so that no harm is done with regard to the meaning of (7 - 12). Thus we obtain (13 - 18).

13. The person drinking a martini is someone.
14. Osobą, która pije martini jest ktoś.
15. Someone is the persn drinking a martini.
16. Ktoś jest osobą, która pije martini.
17. Someone is drinking a martini.
18. Ktoś pije martini.

We can now see that 15 and 17 in English, and 16 and 18) in Polish are, in fact, identical for the difference between 'someone' and 'someone is the person' on the one hand, and the difference between 'ktoś' and 'ktoś jest osobą' on the other, can be disregarded. This is not surprising since both 15 and 17 in English and 16 and 18 in Polish are the respective presuppositions for 3 and 5 and 4 and 6, which are asking about the identity of the person who is drinking a martini.[4] This is not, however, the case with 13 and 14: they are not asking about anybody's identity, i.e., 1 and 2 as SQ's presupposing 13 and 14, respectively, are not asking about anybody's identity.

1 in English, if uttered in the context described by Donnellan, would mean something like 19.

19. What is the name (profession) position, etc., of the man drinking a martini?

The corresponding form in Polish is 20.

20. Jakie jest nazwisko (zawód) pozycja, etc., tego człowieka, który pije martini?

The above discussion seems to point out to the fact that sometimes *Who* in English SQ's and *Kto* in Polish SQ's can be used where, in fact, *What* and Jaki/a/e is meant. We can add that 'who' can be found not only in environments where

[4] 5 in English and 6 in Polish can be used to convey an offer or an invitation. This use of 5 and 6 will not be discussed in this paper.

definite descriptions occur but also in environments where proper names occur.

21. Kto to jest ten Kowalski?
22. Who is it this Kowalski?

Here again, *who* and *kto* are not used to ask about someone's identity (we know that it is Kowalski) but rather to ask about Kowalski's features as a man.22 can thus be paraphrased as 23 and 21 can be paraphrased as 24.

23. What sort of man is Kowalski?
24. Jakim człowiekiem jest Kowalski?

We saw above that the two uses of 'who' in English SQ's and the two uses of *'kto'* in Polish SQ's can be accounted for if they are related to two different pressuppositions.

It will be demonstrated later in this paper that the two uses of 'who' and 'kto' can be explained if a different set of semantic features is assigned to NP's underlying a particular use of 'who' and 'kto' in SQ's.

Let us now return to the discussion of definiteness versus indefiniteness of NP's underlying QW's. It seems that Donnellan's (1971) discussion of the two uses of who in English gives further support to the claim that QW's should be derived from indefinite NP's. The fact that 'who' as used in 1 refers to a definite NP and for this very reason could be conceived of as being derived from a definite NP was explained by showing that 'who' in 1 did not ask about anybody's identity and was thus different from the normal use of 'who' in SQ's in English. The argument holds true for SQ's in Polish as well.

It must be pointed out that the analysis of the two uses of 'who' that we proposed above can be additionally supported if a question-answer system is taken into consideration. As has been noticed above the referents of the NP's underlying QW's are not given in the question itself (it would be illogical to ask about a referent which is, at the same time, given) if the QW's occurring in SQ's are asking about the identity of some NP's. At least the speaker in uttering a SQ is assuming that the referent of the NP underlying the QW which has been used in the SQ will be given in the answer.[5]
But even here we can not say that the speaker has a particular referent in mind since the relationship holding between a QW and the answer to the question in which the QW occurs is not one-to-one.[6]
We cannot but agree with Horn (1969 : 98) that the set of possible answers

[5] Cf. Ajdukiewicz (1974 : 87), especially his remarks on datum quaestionis.

[6] Cf. Brown (1968) and Sarles (1970) for a discussion on the question-answer system. An exhaustive discussion on the question-answer system can be found in Pope (1972), and Keenan and Hull (1973). A contrastive analysis of the question-answer system in English and Polish has been offered recently by Iwanicka (1976).

to a SQ can be defined as "... the set of permissible existential instantiations of the appropriate presupposition". Although the speaker is assuming that only one member of the set of possible answers is the proper answer to his question he is not able to find out which one it is before the answer has been supplied.

In the above discussion we have tried to show that the definiteness of NP's underlying QW's is not stated but presupposed. Accordingly, it will be proposed that the NP's underlying QW's be marked with the feature (-Definite).

In English the feature (-Definite) has been attributed to NP's underlying QW's via Wh, i.e., it has been attached to Wh. The postulation of Wh in underlying representation of QW's coincides with the phonological shape of QW's in English.[7]

However, it is worth pointing out that it is not at all clear how Wh functions in the grammar of English. There have been numerous, often conflicting, proposals advocated in the current literature and the discussion on the status of Wh is still continuing : compare, for example, Katz and Postal (1964), Bresnan (1970), Bach (1971), Kuno and Robinson (1972), Chomsky (1973), and Langacker (1974).[8] Langacker (1974 : 3) observes the following: "Analyses differ as to whether or not Wh is to be considered meaningful ... and they differ also in regard to whether Wh is present in deep structure or inserted transformationnally". Then he argues that Wh in English is an overt morphological element but its "... deep structure status is unresolved" (Langacker 1974 : 8).

In our treatment of QW's in English and Polish it will be assumed that QW's are derived from indefinite NP's occurring in the underlying representations of SQ's. It must be stressed that the term underlying representation is not understood in the sense of Chomsky's (1965) *deep structure* but in the sense of semantic structure, e.g., Krzeszowski's (1974) *input structure*.

In this paper we shall use the term semantic structure (SS) in the above sense. Moreover, we shall assume that each SS underlying a QW contains a noun N and a feature matrix FM. N is not a real word but a pro-form. SS's contain all information that is necessary for the semantic intepretation of QW's.

It will be postulated that FM's contain the following features; (+Interrogative), (−Definite), and (+Identifying), hereafter (+Int), (−Def), and (+ Ident), respectively.

It can be pointed out that the two features (+Int) and (−Def) will be res-

[7] In Polish QW's show more diversity with respect to their phonological shape, e. g., 'kto', 'dlaczego', 'czyj', etc., and it seems difficult to postulate anything for Polish that would match the handiness of Wh in English.

[8] As is well known Katz and Postal (1964) consider Wh to be the element marking the constituent to be questioned. Bresnan (1970) equates Wh with the Q of Katz and Postal's conceives of Wh as a complementizer. For Bach (1971 : 157) Wh "... stands for some abstract language independent representation of the question-word formative...". Chomsky (1973) develops Bresnan's (1970) conception of Wh.

ponsible for the triggering of QW-Movement Transformation in English and Polish as well as for the phonological shape of QW's in both languages.[9]

It must be emphasized that the postulation of the features (+Int) and (−Def) makes it possible to distinguish between QW's on the one hand and Relative Pronouns (RP) on the other. Although a discussion on RP'S would go far beyond the scope of this paper it is worth mentioning that RP's can be derived from SS's containing X's identical to the ones postulated for SS's from which QW's are derived. However, the FM's for RP's will be different from the FM's for QW's in that the former will not contain the two features (+Int) and (−Def) but (−Int) and (+Def).

The feature (+Ident) is proposed in order to account for the unique function QW's perform in SQ's; they ask for the identification of individuals or states whose existence is presupposed by the speaker. QW's can thus be conceived of as devices used by the speaker to help the addressee identify these portions of context that must be specified in the answer. However, as is well known, one and the same syntactic form may be used in linguistic communication to express various discoursive functions. It is not surprising that 25 and 26 can be used to convey a request for information, i.e., they can be used as questions.

25. What is she writing?
26. Co ona pisze?

But it is also true that 25 and 26 can be used to convey a surprise. The traditional way of dealing with such cases has been to point out that 25 and 26 are questions and that the suprise value of interrogative structures that are present in 25 and 26 is carried out by means of exclamatory sentences, e.g., 27 and 28, respectively.

27. What is she writing!
28. Co ona pisze!

It will be claimed here that the 'what' of 25 and the 'what' of 27 are not identical and thus they must be assigned distinct semantic description. The same refers, needless to say, to 'co' in 26 and 'co' in 28. In the case of 25 the speaker wants the addressee to identify and specify in the answer whatever constitutes the pragmatic counterpart of 'what'. There is nohing that must be identified in the case of 27, and 28. 27 can be uttered upon seeing something that has already been written: what is surprising is either the outcome of writing, e.g., a letter, or the contents of whatever has been written. Nothing of the kind can be said of 25 where neither an outcome of writting nor the contents of whatever

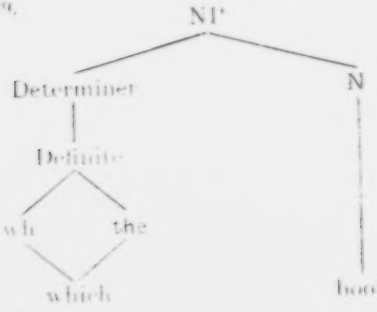
[9] Cf. Fisiak et al. (1978) on details concerning a contrastive analysis of SQ's in English and Polish. Also cf. Oleksy (1976).

has been written are given. One way of accounting for the difference in use of 'what' and 'co' as exemplified in 25 and 27, and 26 and 28 is to assume that 'what' and 'co' occurring in 25 and 26, respectively, are marked with the feature (+Ident), which properly describes the function of what and 'co' in SQ's.

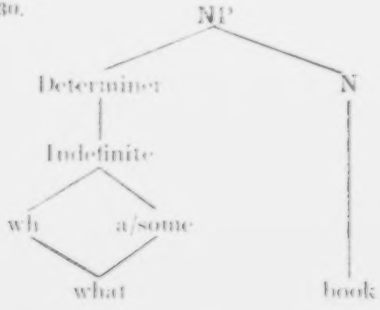
The three features (+Int), (−Def), and (+Ident) are postulated for all SS's underlying surface occurrences of QW's in English and Polish. Besides the three features dealt with above we shall postulate the next two features; (±Selective) and (±Possessive), hereafter (±Select) and (±Poss). Some QW's will be characterized by possessing the feature (+Select) or (+Poss) and some others will be characterized by possessing the feature (−Select) or (−Poss).

The feature (+Select) is postulated in order to account for the difference between 'which' and 'what' on the one hand and between 'który/a/e' and 'jaki/a/e' on the other. The problem is by no means new. Katz and Postal (1964) account for the difference by analysing 'which' as being derived from 29 and 'what' as being derived from 30; 29 and 03 below represent underlying structures for 'which' and 'what', respectively.

29.

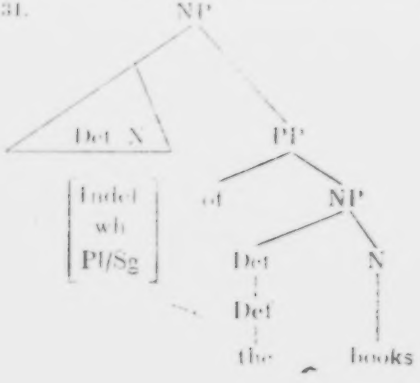


30.

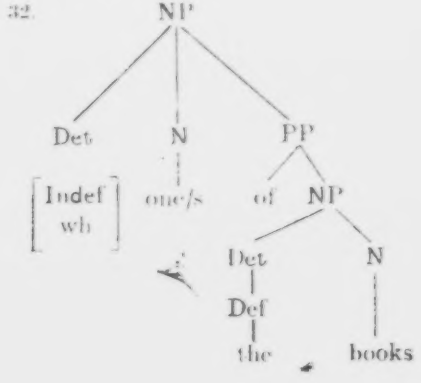


Huddlestone (1971 : 24) following Jackendoff's (1968) analysis of quantifiers in English proposes two possible sources for the derivation of 'which books' and 'what books', respectively 31 and 32, and 33 and 34.

31.



32.



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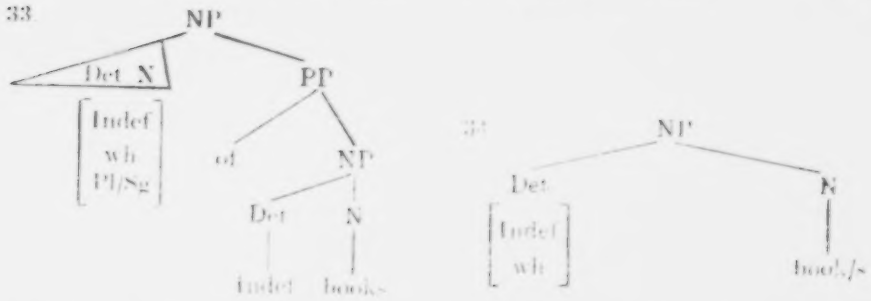


It is clear from (31 - 34) that the difference between 'which books' and 'what books' has been accounted for by assigning different underlying structures for the noun 'book' whereas both 'which' and 'what' have been derived from exactely the same underlying source, i.e., an indefinite NP. Then, Hundlestone argues that 'which' is restricted to domains with definite NP's and 'what' is restricted to domains with indefinite NP's (Huddlestone 1971 : 23).

We shall, of course, agree with Huddlestone (1971) that Wh element is associated with indefinite NP's. However, we shall not agree that the structures (31 - 34) proposed by Huddlestone account for the difference between 'which books' and 'what books'. Leaving the NP 'book' aside, we shall claim that the difference can be explained by postulating the feature (Select) which is present in the FM for 'which' but which is absent from the FM for 'what'. To be more precise, we shall claim that the FM for 'which' contains the feature (+Select) whereas the FM for 'what' contains tne feature (—Select).

The features (+Select) and (—Select) are also postulated for the Polish counterparts of 'which' and 'what'; respectively 'który/a/e' and 'jaki/a/e'.

It must be emphasized that the feature (+Select) also accounts for the difference between 35 and 37, and 36 and 38.

35. Where will you stay in Warsaw?
36. Gdzie zatrzymasz się w Warszawie?
37. Which hotel will you stay at in Warsaw?
38. W którym hotelu zatrzymasz się w Warszawie?

Although 35 and 37 in English, and 36 and 38 in Polish can be answered in the same way, for example, 39 for English and 40 for Polish, yet the questions containing 'which/który/a/e' are felt to be more specific than the questions containing 'what/jaki/a/e' : for this reason 41 and 42) cannot be proper answers to 37 and 38.

39. At "Forum".
40. W "Forum".
41. I'll stay with my aunt.
42. Zatrzymam się u ciotki.

Also notice that the speaker uttering 37 or 38 presupposes 43 or 44, which is not the case with 35 and 36.

43. You will stay at a hotel in Warsaw.
44. Zatrzymasz się w /jakimś/ hotelu w Warszawie.

Before we pass on to the discussion of the feature (Poss) it must be pointed out that not all occurrences of 'what' in English SQ's can be related to one and the same SS. Notice the difference that exists between 45 and 46.

45. What are you reading?
46. What book are you reading?

45 is asking about the identity of something that is being read, while 46 is asking about the features of the book that is being read: 46 can be roughly paraphrased as 47.

47. What are the features of the book you are reading?

Also notice that the difference in meaning present in 45 and 46 shows up overtly in Polish: 48 is asking about the identity and 49, where the QW has a distinct phonological shape, is asking about the features of the book and can be roughly paraphrased as 50.

48. Co czytasz?
49. Jaką książkę czytasz?
50. Jakie są cechy książki, którą czytasz?

It will be proposed that 'what' corresponding to 'co' in Polish and 'what' corresponding to 'jaki/a/e' be derived from distinct SS's. How to do this will be shown later in the paper.

Let us now turn to the feature (Poss). This feature has been postulated in order to account for the difference between the use of 'whose' and 'which' on the one hand, and 'czyj/a/e' and 'który/a/e' on the other; respectively, 51, 53, 52, and 54.

51. Whose book are you reading?
52. Czyją książkę czytasz?
53. Which book are you reading?
54. Którą książkę czytasz?

It seems that 51 and 52, besides asking about the identity of the book the addressee is reading, are asking about the possessor of the book the addressee is reading.[10]

[10] 51) and 52) can be asking about the author of the book if instead of the noun 'book' the question contains such nouns as 'novel', 'poem', etc. For example, 'Whose poem are you reading?'

Thus, 51 and 52 presuppose something like 55 and 56, respectively.

55. You are reading a book which belongs to X.
56. Czytasz książkę, która należy do X-a.

where X stands for the person to whom the book belongs. Needless to say, 55 and 56 canot be said to have been presupposed by the speaker who uttered 53 or 54.

The semantic difference between 'whose' in English and its counterparts in Polish, i.e., 'czyj/a/e', and other QW's can be accounted for if the feature (+Poss) is postulated for FM's characterizing 'whose' and 'Czyj/a/e'. It goes without saying that the remaining QW's will be characterized as possessing the feature (– Poss).

In the above section of the paper we have outlined the semantic features that we think should be present in FM's for QW's in English and Polish. The first two features; (+Int) and (– Def) account for the semantic description of Q→'s and, in addition to that, they trigger QW→-Movement Transformation. The remaining three features; (Ident); (Select), and (Poss) make it possible to distinguish among different QW's in English and Polish.

57, 58, 59, and 60 below represent the respective FM's for 'who', 'whose', 'which', and 'what' as well as their counterparts in Polish, i.e.: 'kto', 'czyj/a/e', 'który a/e', and 'co'.

57.	58.	59.	60.
– Int	– Int	+ Int	+ Int
– Def	– Def	– Def	– Def
+ Ident	+ Ident	+ Ident	– Ident
– Select	– Select	– Select	– Select
– Poss	+ Poss	– Poss	– Poss

It is easy to see that 'who/kto' is different from 'which/który' ... with respect to the feature (Select). 'Who/kto' is then different from 'whose/czyj' ... with respect to the feature (Poss). 'Which/który', in turn, is different from 'whose/czyj' ... with respect to two features; (Select) and (Poss). Finally, 'who/kto' has the same FM as 'what/co'.

The difference between 'who/kto' and 'what/co' is accounted for by the fact that 'who/kto' is derived from the SS which contains a noun *person/osoba* whereas 'what/co' is derived from the SS which contains a noun *thing/rzecz*.

Earlier in this paper we have alluded to two different uses of 'what' in English SQ's. One of these uses corresponds to 'co' in Polish. This use of 'what' has already been accounted for. It is time now to deal with the use of 'what' that corresponds to 'jaki/a/e' in Polish.

In the first place we must decide whether the 'what' which corresponds to 'jaki ...' in Polish is derived from the SS containing the noun *thing/rzecz*,

or whether it is derived from the SS containing the noun *person/osoba*. As can be seen in 61 and 62 'what' occurrs before nouns denoting both persons and things.

61. What book would you like to read?
62. What girl would you like to meet?

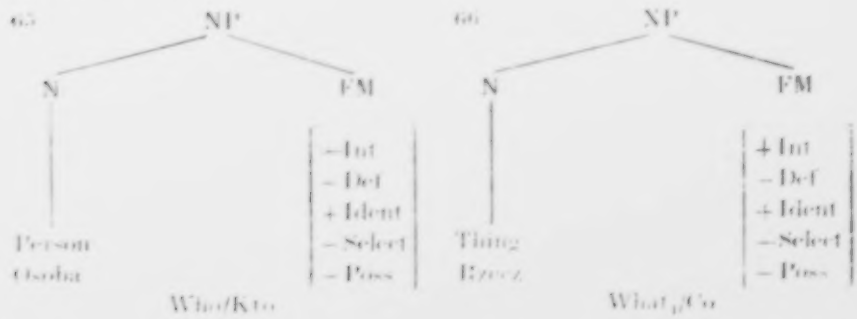
Moreover, 61 and 62 are asking about some features of the nouns which follow 'what'; in this case 'book' and 'girl', rather than about the identity. If the latter were the case we would have 63 and 64.

63. What would you like to read?
64. Who would you like to meet?

Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the 'what' which corresponds to 'jaki ...' in Polish is derived from the SS which contains a dummy instead of *person* or *thing*. The same SS will be proposed for 'jaki ...' in Polish.[11] This 'what' will be marked as $what_2$.

It must be emphasized that 'whose' and 'which' and their counterparts in Polish, i.e., 'czyj ...' and 'który ...' will be derived from SS's which also contain dummies.[12]

Having presented the basic facts concerning the semantics of QW's in English and Polish it is time now to present SS's from which 'who', 'what$_1$', 'whose', 'which', and 'what$_2$', and their respective Polish counterparts; 'kto', 'co', 'czyj ...', 'który ...', and 'jaki ...' are derived. (65 - 69) represent the respective SS's.



[11] In Polish 'jaki, 'jaka', etc., as well as 'który', 'która', etc., and 'czyj', 'czyja', etc., must be interpreted for number, case, and gender.

[12] One can postulate that the selection of the proper noun must be postponed until the noun which follows the QW has been selected.

An interesting proposal has been offered in Hamblin (1976). He expresses a view that 'what' and 'which' can be treated as quantifiers:

"Most importantly, there are also interrogative quantifiers; since for example what man or which man may take the same positions as every man, a man and the man". (Hamblin 1976 : 254).

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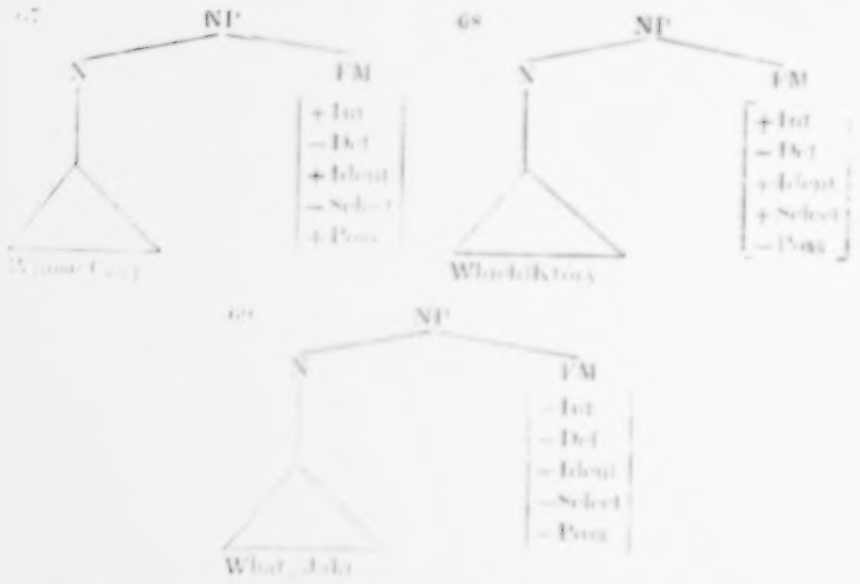

SS's for the mentioned QW's are identical for English and Polish and thus these QW's are found to be equivalent at the level of semantic representation.

Let us now see how these SS's function in the surface, that is, how they behave in SQ's in English and Polish. The presentation will be limited to the most frequent occurrences of 'who', 'what', 'whose', 'which', and 'what' in English and their respective counterparts in Polish, i.e.: 'kto', 'co', 'czyj ...', 'który ...', 'jaki ...'. Of particular interest here are occurrences of QW's with Prepositions in English. The basic difference between English and Polish in this respect is the position of prepositions. As is well known, in Colloquial English the preposition is usually stranded from the QW and occupies the final position in SQ's. In Polish, on the other hand, the preposition occurs right after the QW and is never stranded from it. Thus the combination QW and Preposition is more flexible in English than in Polish. According to Leech and Svartvik (1975 : 114) the final position of preposition in English SQ's signals an informal style. The flexibility of the QW and Preposition combination in English is well illustrated in (70 - 73).

70. What did he write it with? (informal)
71. With what did he write it? (formal)
72. What with? (informal)
73. With what? (formal)

However, prepositions consisting of more than one word, we shall call them,

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after Leech and Svartvik (1975 : 275), Complex, are rarely placed at the end of a SQ in English. Notice the oddity of 75 as opposed to 74.

74. In connection with what were two men interviewed at the police station?
75. *What were two men interviewed at the police station in connection with?

Let us now concentrate on the presentation of surface representations of the SS's proposed above. For brevity the presentation will be tabulated.

76. Semantic Structure		Surface Representation		
			English	Polish
XP		1. Who/whom		3. Kto, Kogo, Komu, Kim
X	FM		1. about	1. o kim
(			2. as	2. jako kto
			3. at	3. na kogo, kogo, do kogo
	+ Int		4. for	4. dla kogo, na kogo, kogo
	− Def			
	+ Ident	2. Who	5. from	4. 5. od kogo
	Select		6. in	6. w kogo, komu
Person	− Poss		7. of	7. o kim
Osoba			8. on	8. na kim
			9. to	9. do kogo, komu
			10. with	10. z kim

77. Semantic Structure		Surface Representation		
			English	Polish
XP		1. What$_1$		3. Co, Czego, Czym
			1. about	1. o czym
X	FM		2. as	2. jako co
			3. at	3. na co, do czego
	+ Int		4. for	4. na co
	− Def	2. What$_1$	5. from	4. 5. od czego, z czego
	+ Ident		6. in	6. w co
	− Select		7. of	7. o czym, o co, na co, z czego
	− Poss		8. on	
Thing			9. to	9. do czego, czemu
Rzecz			10. with	10. w co, czym

78. Semantic Structure

Surface Representation			
English		Polish	
1. Whose		3. Czyj..., Czyjego..., Czyim	
2. Whose-	1. about	1. o czyim...	
	2. as	2. jako czyj...	
	3. at	3. na czyj..., z czyjego...	
	4. for	4. na czyjego..., dla czyjego...	
	5. from	4. 5. od czyjego..., z czyjego	
	6. in	6. w czyjego...	
	7. of	7. czyjego..., o czyim...	
	8. on	8. na czyjego...	
	9. to	9. czyjego..., do/na czyjego...	
	10. with	10. z czyim	

79. Semantic Structure

Surface Representation			
English		Polish	
1. Which		3. Który..., Którego..., którym	
2. Which-	1. about	1. o którym...	
	2. as	2. jako który...	
	3. at	3. na którego..., z którego...	
	4. for	4. dla którego..., na/po którego...	
	5. from	4. 5. od którego...,	
	6. in	6. w którego...	
	7.	7. o którym...	
	8. on	8. na którym...	
	9. to	9. do którego...	
	10. with	10. z którego..., którym...	

80. Semantic Structure		Surface Representation	
		English	Polish
XP		1. What$_2$	3. Jaki..., Jakiego..., Jakim
X	FM	1. about	1. o jakim...
		2. as	2. jako jaki...
		3. at	3. na jakiego..., w jakim...
		4. for	4. na/dla jakiego..., jakiego...
	Int	2. What$_2$ 5. from	4. 5. od jakiego...
	Def	6. in	6. w/do jakiego...
	Ident	7. of	7. o jakim...
	Select	8. on	8. na jakiego...
	Poss	9. to	9. do jakiego...
		10. with	10. z jakim..., jakim...

Throughout (76 - 80), 1. in English corresponds to 3 in Polish, (2.1.) in English corresponds to (4.1.) in Polish, etc.

It can be added that we have ignored such things as case, number, and gender in the case of Polish counterparts; in fact, we have selected masculine whenever gender had to be selected.

We are aware of the fact that our presentation of the surface representation of SS's for *QW*'s in English and Polish is not complete. However, we have been limited to the data that were available to us.

Conclusions. In the above discusion we have tried to defend a hypothesis that *QW*'s are derived from indefinite XP's. In order to support the indefiniteness hypothesis we have provided arguments based upon the speaker-based presuppositions that are usually associated with questions containing *QW*'s, i.e. *SQ*'s. Next, we have proposed that *QW*'s be derived from semantic structures SS which contain two elements: a pro-form X and a feature matrix *FM*. SS's for the *QW*'s under investigation have been found to be identical in English and Polish and thus the respective *QW*'s in English and Polish have been found to be equivalent. It has been claimed that semantic differences among *QW*'s can be related to differences in their respective SS's. Finally, SS's for 'who', 'what', 'whose', 'which', and 'what$_2$' in English and 'kto', 'co', 'czyj...', 'który...', and 'jaki...' in Polish, together with the most frequently occurring surface representations of these SS's, have been presented.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE VERBS OF PERCEPTION IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to present some basic facts concerning the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the English verbs of perception as compared to their Polish equivalents. The verbs in question constitute a unique subclass of the V category, and the reasons for assigning them separate semantic labels in both languages are manifold. In the first place, a native speaker, relying on his intuition and on knowledge of extra-linguistic reality rather than on any linguistic facts, can distinguish the five verbs of perception from all the other verbs he uses. Since all highly developed organisms perceive the world by means of five senses, i.e. sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste, they automatically become subject to five distinct perception processes, i.e. they can *see*, *hear*, *feel*, *smell*, and *taste*, respectively. Hence, these verbs referring to empirically observable phenomena were traditionally treated as members of a closed system, with one feature, PERCEPTION, in common. It must be noted here, though, that they only describe the process of perceiving given phenomena thanks to appropriate organs enabling the animate being to undergo the sensation without any specific action directed at the object of perception. Consequently, the examples below, containing the afore-mentioned verbs express what was traditionally called "the receiving of an impression by the senses independently of the will of the person concerned" (Poutsma 1926 : 341), or passive perception (Palmer 1966 : 99), more recently labelled as inert perception (Leech 1971 : 23) or cognition (Rogers 1971 : 206; 1972 : 304):

1. *I (can) see pink elephants*
2. *I (can) hear strange noises*

[1] For the semantic implications of the occurence of modal auxiliary *can*, cf. Palmer (1966 : 96).

3. *I (can) feel a nail in my shoe*
4. *I (can) smell perfume*
5. *I (can) taste spices*

The present analysis, however, can by no means be confined, to the cognitive aspect of perception, since both in English and in Polish two other aspects of this phenomenon should be taken into account. Consider the following examples:

6. *I am looking at pink elephants*[2]
7. *I am listening to the strange noises*
8. *I am feeling the nail in my shoe*
9. *I am smelling the perfume*
10. *I am tasting the spices*

They describe the activity performed by the agent to be affected by the given impression, as opposed to the process of inert perception (or cognition) expressed by 1 - 5. Consequently, the three process verbs *feel*, *smell*, and *taste* become activity verbs in 6 - 10, whereas *see* and *hear* are replaced by their active counterparts, i.e. *look at* and *listen to*, respectively. The traditional term for these verbs was active perception (Poutsma 1926 : 56), and has also been adopted recently (Leech 1971 : 23; Rogers 1971 : 214), as the most suitable label. It seems worth noting at this point that some relevant terminological variations appear in Chafe's classification of verbs, later on modified by Cook (1972b). Namely, Chafe (1970 : 100) claims that only intransitive verbs accompanied by agent, the doer of the action, can be called active, whereas all the transitive verbs taking both agent and patient are process -action verbs, since the verb in these sentences is both a process and an action. As a process it involves a change in the condition of a noun, its patient. As an action it expresses what someone,its agent, does. The agent is still someone who does something... and does it *to* (or sometimes *with*) something, the patient of a process.[3]

The third group of verbs[4] occurs in sentences the syntactic and semantic representations of which differ to a large extent from the examples 1 - 10:

11. *The pink elephants look funny (to me)*
12. *The strange noises sound familiar (to me)*

[2] The possibility of taking the progressive aspect in the case of active verbs of perception as opposed to the cognitive and flip verbs is discussed in Palmer (1966 : 99 - - 100) and Leech (1971 : 23).

[3] For the explanation of terminology, see Chafe (1970 : 100).

[4] The fourth possible use of *see, hear*, and *feel* followed by S will not be dealt with here, for the obvious reason that in such sentences the three verbs do not convey the meaning of perception process, but refer to "understanding", "having got the information", and "having the feeling or conviction", respectively, cf.

I see (hear, feel) you do not know anything about Nixon.

13. *The nail in my shoe feels sharp (to me)*
14. *The perfume smells sweet (to me)*
15. *The spices taste hot (to me)*

What accounts for their syntactic peculiarity is the rearrangement of arguments similar to that characteristic of passivized sentences as compared to their active counterparts. In this case, the animate subject perceiving the sensation in 1 - 10, switches in 11 - 15 to the position of an object which, in turn, becomes the surface subject. This syntactic operation focuses our attention on the object perceived and on the quality of the perception — a new element absent from 1 - 10. Hence, the remaining argument — Percipient (cf. below), is of minor importance and becomes optional, as it happens in majority of passive constructions.

This problem was already touched upon by Fillmore (1968 : 20), who pointed out the *like/please* contrast involving the reverse order of their accompanying noun phrases. Postal (1971 : 39) further elaborated on the issue of sentences "involving the class of verbal/adjectival forms that designate psychological states, processes or attributes." Hence, he labelled the rule accounting for their formation a psych-movement which

> "... is formally similar to passive in that it moves an NP from grammatical subject position into the predicate and causes it to be supplied with a preposition. At the same time, the rule moves an NP from the predicate into grammatical subject position".

Also, he relates the psych-movement verbs to active verbs from which, according to him, they are derived.

Rogers, on the other had, proves in his two articles that the psych movement or, as he calls them, flip verbs are the most logical derivatives of cognitive, not active perception verbs (Rogers 1971 : 214 - 5):

> "Sentences involving the flip verbs appear to presuppose corresponding sentences involving the cognitive form. That is, in order for either 15. or 16. to be true or false, 17. must be assumed to be true:
>
> 15. Reuben looked stoned to me
> 16. Reuben did not look stoned to me
> 17. I saw Reuben.

Since this point has been analyzed by Rogers quite extensively, and later on followed by Lipińska-Grzegorek (1974), it will not be discussed here more thoroughly. It must be noted, however, that regardless of the truth value of this argument cited above, Postal's terminology remained unchanged in the further discussion of the verbs designating perception, cognition or psychological experience. Fillmore (1971 : 42), uses it analysing the case hierarchy of verbs taking Experiencer, Instrumental, and Object:

8*

> "The so-called psych-movement verbs require a transformation which moves the highest non-Experiencer NP into the first position. The passive T-rule is a more general reranking transformation which puts an original Experiencer or Object or Goal NP into the first position, including the modification in the form of the verb".

The present issue was also dealt with in several of Cook's works (Cook 1972 : 22; 1973 : 72 - 3; 1974 : 23 - 4).

Having considered the analogy between the operations of psych-movement and the passive transformation, the discussion of some still existing controversial points, i.e. Postal's vs. Rogers' arguments, will be left aside at present, as being beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, it will be limited to the presentation of the semantic model for each of the above-mentioned groups of verbs, the relationships between them being touched upon only marginally (Section 2). Section 3 will be devoted to lexical rules, i.e. it will be shown, by means of contrasting the corresponding English and Polish corpora, how the ideas of cognitive, active, and flip perception are expressed in both languages. Finally, the syntactic rules deriving English sentences will be compared to those accounting for the formation of the equivalent structures in Polish.

It must be added that each section starts with a theoretical basis for a further elaboration of the respective models in English. Their validity for the Polish corpus is checked immediately and the necessary changes are introduced, so as to obtain the overall picture of the basic contrasts between the verbs of perception in both languages.

2. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

2.1. As was emphasized in the introduction, all three groups of verbs in question, i.e. cognitive, active, and flip, respectively, have one underlying feature, PERCEPTION, which should be further specified for each of the senses. I suggest that the variables accounting for the distinction of particular perception processes take the names of the organs responsible for the occurrence of these processes. Hence, *see*, *look at*, and *look* contain the feature [+eye]; *hear*, *listen to*, and *sound* [+ear], etc.[5]

Before proceeding with the construction of the appropriate semantic model of perception verbs as a class, it should be decided which of the two main constituents of a sentence, i.e. NP or VP, is to be treated as central, hence having impact upon the selectional features of the other element. Both

[5] The animate beings employing other parts of their bodies to get given impressions will not be taken into account here. Bats "seeing" things thanks to spatial orientation, as well as the blind who "can see" with their hands are marginal cases and the labels chosen here are rather the reflection of what are generally believed to be the perceptors employed in the perception process in question.

Fillmore and Chafe seem to speak of the same deep structure consisting of a verb and a series of noun phrases. The centrality of the verbal element is, however, the main point of controversy.

In his classical presentation of case grammar, Fillmore (1968 : 21) already viewed the structure of a sentence as consisting of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship. The secondary position of the verb as selected according to the case environments (or case frames) which the sentence provides established at that time (Fillmore 1968 : 26), is still maintained in his latest writings:

> "Predicators can be classified according to the possible arrays of cases they can occur in construction with and to the processes in the sentence they trigger". (Fillmore 1971 : 38).

On the contrary, Chafe's contention is that in the configuration of a verb accompanied by some noun phrases "the verb will be assumed to be central and the noun peripheral." (Chafe 1970 : 96) Several convincing arguments in favour of this view (Chafe 1970 : 96 - 8), have determined the final selection of verb centrality as the starting point for our further analysis. Moreover, it seems to be a particularly appropriate approach to the present study aiming at a semantic-syntactic classification of verbs, as selecting their environment on the basis of their feature indices, and not vice versa.

Consequently, the feature [+PERCEPTION] and the variables specifying the type of perception involved are present, as was mentioned above, in the indices of the verbs in 1 - 15, therefore distinguish them from other classes of verbs. Despite this common feature, however, the most apparent contrasts in the syntax and semantics of these verbs were already reflected in the three-fold subdivision (cf. Introduction). It has been based on the state/nonstate dichotomy advocated by Chafe (1970 : 99) as the primary criterion of the classification of verbs. Thus, following the standard procedures for distinguishing these two types of verbs, those in 1 - 15 are nonstate, simultaneously qualifying as subjects for further subdivision.[6] According to Chafe (1970 : 101) who somewhat expands the traditional grouping of verbs into state, process, and action verbs, there is still one more type, namely action-process verbs, which both involve a change in the condition of the nouns, their patients, and express what their agents do, i.e. they refer to process and action at the same time.

Having checked our corpus against Chafe's system, a striking consistency was revealed as to the [+process] feature shared by all 15 verbs in question. There are, however, some crucial differences between the previously formed subgroups, since the initial division was by no means accidental. Firstly, the examples of cognitive perception (1 - 5) contain typical process verbs in-

[6] For a more detailed discussion of verb calssification, cf. Chafe (1970 : 99 - 102).

volving Experiencer, i.e. the NP undergoing the sensation, and objective, specifying the content of this sensation.[7] Secondly, the same type of process is referred to in 11 - 15, however, with the reservation that these are sentences requiring psych-movement, hence the order of noun phrases is reversed (cf. above and Rogers 1971, 1972). Thus, both cognitive and flip verbs, to follow Rogers' terminology, will contain the feature [+process] in their indices. Lastly, the verbs in 6 - 10 are, for the reasons stated above, assigned the feature [+process-action].

The selectional features of verbs in question established above determine the subsequent choice of nominal elements accompanying these verbs. There are two types of noun phrases involved in the perception process, i.e. an animate being undergoing or experiencing a sensation — hence the label Experiencer, assigned to it by case grammar (cf. Fillmore 1971 : 42; 1972 : 10; Cook 1972: 17; 1973 : 56; Traugott 1972 : 34), and a person, object or phenomenon to affect one of the senses, traditionally called Patient (Traugott ibid.) or Objective (Fillmore ibid.; Cook 1972 : 43).

The case grammar terminology will not be, however, followed in our analysis. The framework of generative semantics constitutes a model more relevant to our further presentation. As Cook (1974 : 3 - 10) rightly noticed while juxtaposing case grammar and generative semantics, the two most striking differences between these theories consist in the labelling of the universals they employ and in the ordering of elements involved. The advocates of case grammar, as was mentioned above, view the deep (or semantic) structure of each sentence[8] as consisting of a verb (or predicate), accompanied by one to three noun phrases standing in a particular case relationship to this predicate. Each of these relationships is given an appropriate label, hence we get 5 basic cases: Agent, Experiencer, Benefactive, Objective, and Locative. The order of presentation is not random here, but it reflects the hierarchy the cases exist in, determining subject selection and other processes occuring within a sentence.

For our purposes, however, labelling of the elements in the semantic structure (cf. footnote 8), is of no importance whatsoever, since the entities involved in the perception process will be named according to the function they play. So, the generative semantics notation will be much more suitable for the present analysis due to its simplicity. Apparently, the semantic structure of each sentence (or predication), coinciding with its logical structure, contains a central verbal element (or predicate) being accompanied by one to three arguments (unlabelled noun phrases). Moreover, the ordering of the arguments characteristic of generative semantics seems also preferable here, since it re-

[7] On the analysis of the basic types of cases, cf. Fillmore (1971 : 42), Cook (1973 : 57).

[8] The controversy of deep vs. semantic structure is dealt with in Cook (1972 : 37 - 38).

flects the typical word order of English sentences, i.e. subject — (indirect object) — (direct object).[9]

The semantic analysis proper, carried out within the generative semantics framework, will proceed as follows. The control predicate being assigned the two features and one variable mentioned above must be abstracted from the predication according to the adopted notation, (cf. for example Cook 1974 : : 3 - 4); it is then followed by arguments enclosed in brackets and properly ordered, (cf. above). The animate NP involved actively in or affected by the perception, will be given the label Percipient, and will contain in its index both its distinctive feature [+animate] and the feature accounting for its participation in process-action or process, respectively. The latter feature originally present in the predicate index triggers the selection of its arguments, hence is automatically mapped onto the Percipient's index, due to the transitivity of features.[10] However, it must be added that the initial position of this argument is, again, predicate-conditioned. Namely, in 1 - 10, where Percipient functions as subject, it is reflected in the semantic structure by its position following the verbal element. But, with flip verbs requiring the rearrangement of subject and object, it gets demoted.

Besides, there is always a person, an object, or a phenomenon to affect one of the senses, the only condition being its feature of perceptibility for a given sense, e.g. we cannot see a bird song or smell the stars. Hence, the argument called Percept from now on, is subject to only one restriction, i.e. the variable specifying the type of perception described, already present in the predicate index is automatically transmitted to the Percept's index. It is an essential condition for the sentence to be grammatical, since both the Percept and the predicate present in one predication refer to one particular kind of process, and the transitivity of features must take place again, (cf. footnote 10).

Finally, one more entity is to be mentioned here, i.e. the quality of the impression which, although absent from the predications with cogntive and active verbs, is a significant element complementing flip verbs, e.g.:

18. *This drink smells of whisky (to me)*
like whisky
nice
as if it were whisky

As can be noticed above, it has four distinct surface realizations. This point, however, is not relevant here; it will be dealt with in Section 4, devoted to

[9] On the ordering of the elements in the generative semantics model, cf. Cook (1970 : : 3 - 6).

[10] On the transitivity of features in predicates and their corresponding arguments, cf. Leech (1974 : 113).

syntax.[11] What is needed for semantic purposes is the idea of qualifying a given impression; that is why the feature Quality will be added to the semantic representation of flip verbs, taking the middle position in between the flip subject, i.e. Percept, and the flip object, i.e. Percipiient.

2.2 At this point, the theoretical observations of 2.1. seem worth confronting with the English and Polish corpora, which will presumably provide some deeper insight into the semantics of the verbs of perception in the two languages, i.e. the suggested semantic representation will reveal its power, and the degree of its explanatory adequacy.

Let us consider the three groups of verbs: cognitive, active, and flip, respectively:

2.21 Cognitive verbs

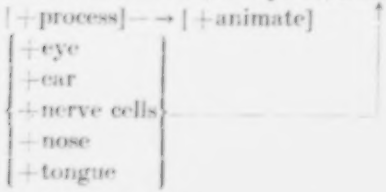
19. *I (can) see pink elephants*	19'. *Widzę białe myszki*
20. *I (can) hear strange noises*	20'. *Słyszę dziwne hałasy*
21. *I (can) feel the nail in my shoe*	21'. *Czuję gwóźdź w bucie*
22. *I (can) smell the perfume*	22'. *Czuję perfumy (zapach) perfum*
23. *I (can) taste the spices*	23'. *Czuję korzenie (smak korzeni)*

According to our analysis, the semantic representation of the English verbs is arrived at in the following way:

24. $P_{perc.c} \rightarrow Pred\ (Arg_1, Arg_2)$[12]

$Arg_1 \rightarrow$ Percipient
$Arg_2 \rightarrow$ Percept
Pred $\rightarrow$ PERCEPTIONc

25. $P_{perc.c} \rightarrow$ PERCEPTIONc (Percipient, Percept)



The rule reads: a predication with a perception predicate ($P_{perc.c}$) is to be rewritten as: PERCEPTIONc (where the subscript C denotes a cognitive perception predicate whose centrality is marked by the adopted notation — cf. above, and the initial position it occupies) followed by two arguments enclosed

[11] Section 4. will discuss both the types of complements to flip verbs and their distribution.

[12] For the basic semantic rules involving predicate and arguments, cf. Cook (1974 : : 3 - 6).

in brackets and ordered according to the function they play in the predication, i.e. the subject — Percipient preceding the direct object — Percept. The predicate is assigned two features: [+process] accounting for its nonstate nature, and the appropriate variable specifying the type of process involved, hence one of the elements enumerated in brackets is obligatorily chosen. The former argument, Arg_1 having the feature [+animate] by definition receives also an additional transitive feature [+process] already present in the predicate index. Percept, on the other hand, is selected on the basis of its perceptibility for a given sense, thus the respective variable is automatically transmitted from the predicate index onto the Percept index.

The proposed semantic representation works neatly with English predications, however, when applied to Polish, it reveals two areas of contrast. Since neither of them has significant impact upon the discussed model, they will only be signalled here and dealt with more thoroughly in the relevant sections:

a) The Polish examples lack surface Percepts (here also subjects), due to the subject — deletion transformation obligatorily following the subjectivization rule in non-emphatic sentences.[13] However, this is a purely syntactic problem to be dealt with in Section 4, and no change has to be introduced to our graphic model, since it does not correspond to the surface, but to the semantic structure where both in English and Polish the subject is obligatorily present.

b) The other difference concerns the lack of one-to-one correspondence in the lexical realization of cognitive perception process in both languages (5 English verbs have only 3 equivalents in Polish). Again, this lexical aspect of the problem does not affect the semantic representation proposed here, hence it will be elaborated in the next section.

Having considered the surface differences between the English and the Polish corpora, both contrasts were proved irrelevant to our semantic model. Consequently, it reflects the semantics of cognitive perception predications in both languages, and encourages linguists to check more thoroughly the possible universality of such entities, as: PERCEPTION, Percipient, Percept, and the like.

2.22 Active verbs

26' *I am looking at pink elephants*	26''. *Patrzę na białe myszki*
27' *I am listening to the strange noises*	27''. *Słucham dziwnych hałasów*
28' *I am feeling the nail in my shoe*	28''. *Wyczuwam gwóźdź w bucie*

[13] The subject deletion transformation is possible in Polish due to inflectional endings supplying all the necessary information about the subject, i.e. its number, gender, and case.

29'. *I am smelling the perfume* 29'. *Wąchamperfumy*
30'. *I am tasting the spices* 30'. *Smakuję (próbuję) korzenie*

The corresponding semantic representation of these predications will only differ slightly from the previous one, i.e. the verb will be assigned, by definition, the feature [+process-action]:

31. $P_{perc.A} \rightarrow$ PERCEPTION$_A$ (Percipient, Percept)
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{process-} \\ -\text{action} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{animate}]$
$\begin{Bmatrix} +\text{eye} \\ +\text{ear} \\ \dots \end{Bmatrix}$

Again, the model works in Polish, the two basic contrasts to be noticed between the equivalent structures of the two languages being of the same nature, as in the case of cognitive perception. Since, as was noticed above, those surface phenomena have no impact whatsoever upon the semantic representation, the latter is valid for both English and Polish predications expressing active perception, whereas the two divergent points will be discussed under appropriate headings.

2. 23 Flip verbs

32. *The pink elephants look funny* (*to me*)
as if they were real
like mice
**of plastic*

33. *The strange noises sound familiar* (*to me*)
as if they were jazz tunes
like jazz
**of jazz*

34. *The nail in my shoe feels sharp* (*to me*)
as if it were metal
like a hook
**of metal*

35. *The perfume smells sweet* (*to me*)
as if it were Russian
like roses
of roses

36. *The spices taste hot (to me)*
as if they were oriental
like cinnamon
of cinnamon

32'. *Binie myszki wyglądają (mi) śmiesznie*
jakby były prawdziwe
jak myszy
**plastikiem*

33'. *Dziwne balony brzmią (mi) znajomo*
jakby były melodią jazzową
jak jazz
**jazzem*

34'. **Gwiżdż w mym bucie czuję ostro*
a. *Gwiżdż w mym bucie wydaje (mi) się ostry*
b. *Odczuwam gwiżdż w mym bucie jako ostry*

35'. *Perfumy pachną (mi) słodko*
jakby były rosyjskie
jak róże
różami

36'. *Korzenie smakują (mi) ostro*
jakby były wschodnie
jak cynamon
cynamonem

The semantic representations of these verbs differ in three respects from what was proposed in figures 25. and 31. Firstly, the element of quality of perception, i.e. Quality, will have to be included as the additional argument, since it is not a two-place, but a three-place predicate, (cf. the above-discussed nature of flip verbs). Consequently, the ordering of the arguments must also be changed: Percept, the direct object in 19 - 23 and 26 - 30, takes over the subject role in 32 - 36 requiring psychmovement; hence, it should occupy the primary position in the semantic structure of these predications. Percipient, on the other hand, plays the role of an optional object, replacing the former direct object, thus it will appear as the last (and also enclosed in brackets, to account for its optionality) of the three arguments. The remaining one, i.e. Quality, will occupy the middle slot in the series accompanying the predicate, since the obligatory complementation of the flip perception predicate must be reflected in the semantic structure.

Apparently, the three modifications, i.e. introducing a new element, Quality, involving a subsequent change in ordering and the optionality of percipient, will result in the following semantic structure of psych-movement predications:

37. $P_{percep} \rightarrow$ PERCEPTION$_{Y}$ (Percept, Quality [Percipient]):
[+process] ——— [+animate;
{+eye, +ear, ...}

The prove the explanatory adequacy of this model for Polish corpus, the following areas of contrast between English and Polish examples will have to be considered:

a) distinct word order (in Polish, Percipients do not occupy the final position in the predication but are optional elements following the Predicate), hence proper rearrangements coinciding with the advocated ordering: subject, indirect object, direct object, will be introduced to the original graphic representation

b) Quality is expressed by adverb, not adjective, as in English, the other elements standing for this argument being of the same kind. Since it is a purely categorial difference, it does not affect semantics, and will be discussed under the heading of syntax.

c) there does not exist any acceptable Polish equivalent of the English predication with flip *feel* (cf. the ungrammaticality of 34'). The possibility of expressing this idea by some distinct syntactic and lexical means will be dealt with in the respective sections.

Consequently, the necessary changes introduced to the model will make it look something like:

37. $P_{percep} \rightarrow$ PERCEPTION$_{Y}$ (Percept [Percipient] Quality)
[+process] ——— [+animate]
{+eye, +ear, +nose, +tongue}

Notice the predicate index containing only four variables specifying the type of PERCEPTION, thus the non-existant Polish equivalent of *feel* is automatically excluded.

3. LEXICAL RULES

The semantic analysis carried out above has shed some light upon the possible lexical realizations of the semantic entities involved in the formation of predications with perception verbs. It has also revealed some facts about the relation of congruence which does not always hold between the equivalent

structures of English and Polish.[14] The lexical rules given below are based on these observations and aim at their systematization and formalization. For each type of predication, i.e. cognitive, active, and flip, respectively, the rules operating in English and Polish are specified, so as to show to what extent the relation of congruence holds between the equivalent perception predications in the two languages.

3.1 Cognitive perception

Consider examples 19 - 23 and 19' - 23', as well as rule 25. in section 2.21.[15] The lack of one to one correspondence in lexical realizations of cognitive perception predicates in the two languages is apparent. Only *see* and *hear* have distinct equivalents in Polish, whereas the remaining three are expressed by one predicate *czuć*. Moreover, in the case of *smell* and *taste* Polish has another possible lexical representation, i.e. *czuć* + noun denoting the given sensation (*zapach* and *smak*, respectively). If the latter variant is selected, Percept is a noun phrase taking no longer the Accusative, but the Genitive case. Hence, the lexical rules for English and Polish, respectively, are of the following form:

38. $\text{Pred}_{\text{pere.c}} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{see} \\ \text{hear} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{feel}_c \\ \text{smell}_c \\ \text{taste}_c \end{Bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{NP}$

38'. $\text{Pred}_{\text{pere.c.}_P} \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{widzieć} \\ \text{słyszeć} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \text{czuć} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{o} \\ \text{zapach} \\ \text{smak} \end{Bmatrix} \end{pmatrix} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{Gen}} \quad \text{NP}_{\text{Acc}}$

Rule 38. reads: the cognitive perception predicate ($\text{Pred}_{\text{pere.c}}$) is realized in English as either of the five bracketed verbs in the context / —NP, where NP is the surface equivelent of Percept, the second argument accompynaing PERCEPTIONc predicate, (cf. rule 25.) Rule 38'. is to be interpreted as follows: the cognitive perception predicate is given in Polish (the subscript P signalling it), such lexical realizations that *widzieć* corresponds to its English equivalent *see*, *słyszeć* to *hear*, whereas *feel*, *smell*, and *taste* are expressed by one Polish

[14] For the definitions of equivalence and congruence, cf. Krzeszowski (1967 : 33) and Marton (1968 : 54).

[15] Since the scope of this paper is limited to the discussion of the verbs of perception in English and Polish, their lexical realizations are of major importance here. Thus, only their impact upon the occurence of congruence between equivalent predications will be analyzed. Therefore, the other semantic entities will not be considered at the moment.

item *czuć*, in the context of NP in the Accusative following the verb.[16] If, however, the optional element in parentheses is chosen, then *czuć* remains unchanged as the equivalent of *feel*, (since *czuć*+*ø*=*czuć*), whereas the Polish lexical realizations of *smell* and *taste* are *czuć zapach* and *czuć smak*, respectively, the selected noun phrases automatically triggering the change of the Percept's case from Accusative to Genitive.

It may be concluded that only the Polish structures built in accordance with the rule: $Pred_{pred.c}+NP_{Acc.}$ are congruant with their English equivalents. One reservation, however, is to be made here, namely, the Polish predicate *czuć* comprises the meaning of three English perception predicates, i.e. *feel*, *smell*, and *taste*.

3.2 Active perception

Examples 26 - 30 and 26' - 30', as well as rule 31 (cf. 2.22) show that each English predicate has its distinct Polish counterpart coming from a distinct root that denotes given type of perception. In the case of *taste*, there are even two verbs equally possible to play the roles of its equivalents in Polish, i.e. *smakować* and *próbować*.[17]

Besides, the following points seem worth mentioning here:

a) since only two English predicates have different lexical realizations as compared to cognitive perception, i.e. *see* and *hear* being process verbs are replaced by their process-action counterparts *look at* and *listen to*, respectively, the remaining three: *feel*, *smell*, and *taste* will be distinguished from their homonyms by means of appropriate subscripts, e.g. $feel_c$ vs. $feel_A$.

b) predications with *look at* and its Polish equivalent *patrzeć na* are congruent, since both predicates are of the form V+Preposition. This is not, however, the case with *listen to* which corresponds to Polish *słuchać* lacking any preposition. (the relation between Predicate and Percept is expressed by a distinct case, i.e. with *patrzeć na*, *czuć*, *wąchać*, and *smakować* (*próbować*) the NP following them is in the Accusative, with *słuchać* it is in the Genitive).

c) the two possible equivalents of English *taste*, i.e. *smakować* and *próbować*, although used interchangeably, differ slightly as to their status in Polish (the former is felt by the author to be a bit substandard or, at least regional).

These observations will be accounted for by the following rules for English and Polish, respectively (the notation left unchanged):

[16] The notation adopted here is a standard one, commonly used in TG, (cf. Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1970, and other TG textbooks). Thus, square brackets mean that only one element may be chosen at a time; moreover, it corresponds to the element that occupies the same position in the other pair of brackets.

[17] For a more detailed description of the roots of Polish perception verbs, cf. Grzegorek (1974 : 57 - 60).

39. $\text{Pred}_{\text{perc.A}} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{listen to} \\ \text{look at} \\ \text{feel0} \\ \text{smell0} \\ \text{taste0} \end{bmatrix} / _ \text{NP}$

39'. $\text{Pred}_{\text{perc.A}} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{słuchać} \\ \text{patrzeć na} \\ \text{wyczuwać} \\ \text{wąchać} \\ \text{smakować} \\ \text{próbować} \end{Bmatrix} _ \begin{bmatrix} \text{NP}_{\text{Gen}} \\ \text{NP}_{\text{Acc}} \end{bmatrix}$

Rule 39. reads: the active perception predicate is rewritten in English, as either of the verbs: *listen to*, *look at*, *feel*$_{\text{A}}$, *smell*$_{\text{A}}$ or *taste*$_{\text{A}}$ followed by an NP. Rule 39. ennumerates the corresponding lexical realizations of active perception in Polish, i.e. *słuchać* followed by the Genitive, *patrzeć na*, *wyczuwać*, and *smakować* or *próbować*, respectively (the latter five accompanied by an NP in the Accusative).

To recapitulate, it must be noted that for the reasons stated above, the relation of congruence holds between four pairs of equivalent English and Polish active perception predicates, *listen to* and *słuchać* excluded.

3.3 Flip perception

Examples 32 - 36 and 32' - 36' followed by rules 37 and 37' have revealed that Polish has no acceptable counterpart of the English flip perception predicate *feely*, unless either the sentence is rephrased (hence having no more the structure of a flip predication), or a completely different predicate is used: for example the verb *wydawać się* which is the literal equivalent of English *seem*, thus the meaning changes to some extent — cf. 34. a. and b. The apparently complex issue of the surface realizations of Quality will not be discussed here since, as was noted in 2.23. it is of categorial, not lexical nature, hence belongs to syntax (Section 4).

Consequently, the lexical rules operating on English and Polish flip perception predicates can be formulated, as follows:[18]

40. $\text{Pred}_{\text{perc.F}} \rightarrow \text{E} \begin{bmatrix} \text{look} \\ \text{sound} \\ \text{feel} \\ \text{smell} \\ \text{taste} \end{bmatrix}$

[18] The context is not relevant to the present analysis since as has already been noted, the problem of Complement will be discussed in the next section as a purely categorial phenomenon.

$$40'.\ \mathrm{Pred}_{\mathrm{perc,F}} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{wyglądać} \\ \text{brzmieć} \\ \text{ø} \\ \text{pachnieć} \\ \text{smakować} \end{matrix}$$

Rule 40. reads: a flip perception predicate is realized in English as either of the verbs: *look*, *sound*, *fell*, *smell*, and *taste* which have, according to rule 40'. the following equivalents in Polish: *wyglądać*, *brzmieć*, ø, *pachnieć*, and *smakować*, respectively. Thus, only with four perception predicates of the flip type does the relation of congruence hold between the English and Polish predications.

4. SYNTACTIC RULES

The description of syntax of the verbs in question both in English and Polish will be confined to some remarks complementing and systematizing the information already supplied above. Moreover, some syntactic rules illustrating the derivational history of sentences with verbs of perception will be proposed for both languages.

4.1 Cognitive and active perception verbs

These two groups of verbs will be analyzed simultaneously since, as it follows from the examples 19 - 23 and 26 - 30, as well as their Polish equivalents, the basic syntactic patterns of these structures differ only in two respects:

a) the optional choice of the modal auxiliary *can* (Aux) with the former, and the lack of it with the latter verbs, cf. footnote 1.

b) the formerly discussed distinct lexical realizations of the perception predicates, (3 homonymous forms: *feel*, *smell*, *taste* expressing both cognitive and active perception, versus cognitive *see* and *hear*, the active counterparts of which, i.e. *look at* and *listen to* come from distinct roots and are followed by prepositions) uf. 3.1 and 3.2).

This does not, however, affect the syntactic component which, for the economy of presentation is formulated as one rule deriving the syntactic structures of sentences with both groups of verbs, (again, the standard notation of TG is used here):[19]

$$41.\ S \rightarrow NP_1 + VP + NP_2 \qquad a)\ VP \rightarrow (\mathrm{Aux})\ MV$$

$$42.\ S_{\substack{\text{perc.}\\ \text{A}}} \rightarrow NPj + \begin{Bmatrix} (\text{can})\ V_C \\ V_A \end{Bmatrix} NP_2 \qquad b)\ MV \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} V_C \\ V_A \end{Bmatrix}$$

[19] No categorial rules rewriting NP will be given here as irrelevant to the discussion which is confined to verbs of perception only.

While confronted with the Polish corpus, 41. still derives grammatical structures. However, the lack of modal auxiliary preceding the verb must be reflected in categorial rules, thus a) requires a change in Polish:

a)' VP → MV, hence:

$$42'.\ S_{perc.\ \underset{A}{c}} \xrightarrow{P} NP_1 \begin{Bmatrix} V_C \\ V_A \end{Bmatrix} NP_2$$

It is to be noted here that no more amendments will have to be introduced to the syntactic rules deriving deep structure (or rather syntactic structure which is subordinated to semantic structure) representations of Polish sentences with cognitive and active verbs. The lack of surface subjects in non-emphatic Polish sentences (cf. 2.21 and footnote 13), is due to an obligatory transformation operating on terminal strings, and the discussion of all the stages of the der vational history of the sentences in question is beyond the scope of this paper. Besides, this very transformational rule is of universal value in Polish, so this fact may be only signalled here, the present analysis confined to the formation of the syntactic representations, as the intermediate stage between the semantic structures of predications and their final surface structures.

4.2 Flip verbs

Sentences with flip perception verbs pose a number of problems for the construction of syntactic rules accounting for their derivation:

a) the order of categories is changed (NP_2 occupying the subject position, whereas NP_1 is an optional element preceded by a preposition *to* and standing in the final position)

b) the verbs are followed by complements expressed in English by means of an adjective, prepositional phrase of the structure *of*+*N*, an unreal conditional clause *as if*+pronoun+*were*, or a comparative construction *like*+*N*, (cf. 2.23). However, not all complements can follow each of the flip verbs, i.e. only *smell*$_F$ and *taste*$_F$ take all of them; the three remaining ones, *look*, *sound*, and *feel*$_F$ form ungrammatical sentences while followed by *of*+*N*, so

c) two separate syntactic rules must be formulated for the respective groups of English verbs, the pattern 43 being the same:[29]

$$43.\ S_{\underset{E}{perc.F}} \rightarrow NP_2 + V + Compl.\ (to + NP)$$

$$44.\ S_{\underset{E}{perc.F}} \rightarrow NP_2 \begin{Bmatrix} look \\ sound \\ feel_F \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} Adj. \\ Cond.\ Cl. \\ like + NP \end{Bmatrix} (to + NP_1)$$

[29] Categorial rules are not repeated here as they remain the same for all types of verbs under discussion.

$$45.\ S_{perc.F} \rightarrow NP_2 \begin{Bmatrix} smell_F \\ taste_F \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Cond. Cl.} \\ \text{Adj.} \\ like + NP \\ of + NP \end{Bmatrix} (to + NP_1)$$

The Polish examples exhibit some areas of contrast as compared to their English equivalents. Firstly, their optional flip object, if chosen, obligatororily follows V and is then expressed by NP in the Dative,[21] whereas in English it occupies the final position in S. Secondly, there is one categorial difference to be mentioned here. The Polish flip verbs never take adjectives as their complements, the same idea being conveyed by adverbs. Finally, all remaining complements have exactly the same distribution in both languages, including the *of*+ N phrase expressed in Polish by noun in the Instrumental that can complement only the Polish equivalents of *smell* and *taste*, i.e. *pachnieć* and *smakować*, respectively. Finally, as has been noted above, *feel*0 has no corresponding flip verb in Polish, hence the rules will take into account only four of them, rule 43. being also changed accordingly:

$$43'.\ S_{perc.F} \overset{P}{\rightarrow} NP_2 + V\,(NP_1)\ \text{Compl.}$$

$$44'.\ S_{perc.F} \overset{P}{\rightarrow} NP_2 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{wyglądać} \\ \\ \text{brzmieć} \end{Bmatrix} (NP_{1Dat.}) \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adv.} \\ \text{Cond. Cl.} \\ \text{jak NP} \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$45'.\ S_{perc.F} \overset{P}{\rightarrow} NP_2 + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{pachnieć} \\ \\ \text{smakować} \end{Bmatrix} (NP_{1Dat.}) \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{Cond. Cl.} \\ \text{jak NP} \\ N_{Instr.} \end{Bmatrix}$$

To recapitulate, it must be emphasized that the present paper is by no means exhaustive, nor does it give any complete system of rules or a consistent theory for the analysis of the verbs of perception in English and Polish. The author's aim has been to show how the idea of the perception process is expressed in both languages and how the two linguistic realizations compare semantically, lexically and syntactically. Also, the tentative rules suggested above to account for the formation of the respective components were intended to point to the possible existence of some abstract entities involved in the perception process and common for both languages. The analysis has revealed that further investigation of elements like: Percipient, Percept, etc. which presum-

[21] There is also a possibility of expressing the flip object in Polish by means of a prepositional phrase *według mnie*, i.e. *in my opinion*. Then, it may be placed not only after V, but also (as it is the case with English sentences), at the end of S, in the post-complementizer position, cf.:

Te róże pachną mi (według mnie) słodko

vs. *Te róże pachną słodko według mnie.*

ably are also shared by some other languages, may contribute to the study of semantic universals. Finally, being a contrastive study, the afore-mentioned remarks are aimed at revealing areas of contrast as well as similarities and the relation of congruence holding between the English and Polish corpora. Again, many common points have been discovered in this respect, since quite a number of Polish structures are, if not congruent, then similar to their English counterparts.

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WHAT DIFFERENCES ARE THERE BETWEEN FINNS AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING FINNS LEARNING ENGLISH?

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The role of the mother tongue in foreign-language learning has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is generally agreed today that the mother tongue is an aid rather than an obstacle in the process of learning another language, but exactly how it influences this process has not been established.

Finland is a country where conditions are unusually favourable for an investigation of problems connected with foreign-language learning. There are two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. Finnish is spoken by more than 92% of the population, whereas 6-7% have Swedish as their mother tongue.

For a long time there has been no language conflict in Finland. The two language groups share a common cultural heritage, and essentially most Swedish-speaking Finns today regard themselves not as a separate nationality within Finland, but as primarily Finns, with merely a mother tongue different from the majority of the population. Thus two groups, linguistically completely different, have an educational and cultural unity that would be difficult to find elsewhere.

At Åbo Akademi's Department of English a project (financed by the Academy of Finland) has been set up to investigate the different types of errors Finns and Swedes (i.e. Swedish-speaking Finns) make when learning English. An ultimate aim is to shed more light on the part actually played by the the mother tongue (L1) in the learning of a foreign language (L2), and also to provide some conclusions relevant to English teaching in Finland.

The material so far examined consists partly of recent entrance examinations to the Department of English, and partly of special tests designed for a considerably lower level at a commercial college, where very few of the students are academically inclined. Also, the computer-analysed figures from he National Examination in English have been taken into account. On the other

hand, texts written by university students of English have not yet been thoroughly examined, mainly because most errors made at this advanced stage show much less of obvious L1-interference.

The students at the Swedish-medium university of Åbo Akademi are drawn from both language groups in Finland, the percentage of Finnish-speaking students being around 25. Often, however, a majority of the candidates applying for a place at the department have been Finns. If the results of the top twenty candidates in recent entrance tests are examined, the Finnish applicants attained the following ranks:

Table 1

1972	Rank numbers	1, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17	(total 7 out of 20)
1973		3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17	" 7 " " "
1974		6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20	8 "
1975		5, 15, 17, 19	" 4 " " "

The best results have generally been obtained by a fairly small number of Swedes, and since more than two thirds of the applicants are rejected, the percentage of Finns accepted has been considerably smaller than that of the Swedes. Still, there is not a very great difference between the mean results of the two language groups. Since it might be of interest to examine the differences between the language groups in the different parts of the test, the following table shows the total results for the entrance examination and the results in its different subsections:

Table 2. Results from entrance examinations 1972 - 75 with standard deviation (SD)

1972	Finns	(N=56)	Swedes	(N=69)
Section	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
A. Reading Comprehension (9 items)	6.7	1.6	7.4	1.3
B. Grammar (45)	35.2	2.9	36.0	3.7
C. Vocabulary (70)	45.6	7.4	48.7	8.3
D. Pronunciation (5)	1.6	1.6	2.2	1.1
E. Composition (20)	8.1	3.0	9.3	2.3
TOTAL (149)	97.7	11.7	103.5	12.6
1973	Finns	(N=57)	Swedes	(N=55)
Section	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
A. Grammar (56)	37.8	4.1	41.5	4.9
B. Vocabulary (50)	29.6	5.9	28.8	8.1
C. Pronunciation (24)	16.8	2.7	18.4	2.4

D. Composition (60)	29.8	10.2	35.1	7.8
TOTAL (190)	114.0	16.3	124.2	16.7
1974	Finns	(N=63)	Swedes	(N=45)
Section	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
A. Grammar (15)	9.8	2.0	10.9	1.8
B. Articles (15)	12.4	1.7	14.2	0.9
C. Prepositions (15)	10.5	1.7	11.4	1.5
D. Vocabulary (30)	19.2	4.5	22.8	4.3
E. Spelling (28)	20.7	2.7	21.5	2.6
F. Pronunciation (38)	19.7	8.6	22.1	8.3
G. Composition (40)	27.4	6.4	30.4	4.6
TOTAL (181)	119.3	18.0	133.3	17.6
1975	Finns	(N=42)	Swedes	(N=58)
Section	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
A. Sound Recognition (110)	87.1	4.0	90.8	3.2
B. Partial Dictation (76)	42.9	9.6	52.4	7.5
C. Close Test (156)	89.5	13.0	92.9	13.6
D. Grammar & Vocabulary (23)	14.5	2.9	14.9	2.5
E. Composition (80)	53.5	5.7	54.9	5.3
TOTAL (445)	187.5	27.4	305.5	22.0

This table shows that on the average the Swedes have generally done consistently better than the Finns, but not very much better. There is an exception to this, and that is the test in partial dictation (only in 1975), where the difference is considerable in favour of the Swedes.

A partial dictation test primarily tests listening comprehension, and it thus appears that this would be the area where Finns, as compared with Swedes, would meet the greatest difficulties. This is not surprising, since, generally speaking, tests of receptive skills will favour learners with a cognate L1. It is above all in these skills that positive transfer from the mother tongue takes place.[1]

However, like listening comprehension, reading comprehension, too, is a receptive skill, and results from the national matriculation examination inEnglish which includes both listening comprehension and reading comprehension also show a difference between Swedes and Finns. From the two years during which

[1] Cf. W. F. Mackey (1965 : 109): "If (a learner)... is learning simply to understand the language, the greater the similarity between the first language and the second, the easier the latter will be to understand. In using the language, however, it is the similarity that may cause interference by the misuse of such things as deceptive cognates".

the 'new type' of foreign language examination has been in operation the following tables of mean results can be compiled:[2]

Table 3. National Matriculation Examination

			1974	1975
Listening Comprehension	(30 items)	Fi.	19.7	21.6
		Sw.	22.4	24.8
Reading Comprehension	(30 items)	Fi.	24.1	22.8
		Sw.	25.7	24.7

While the differences in reading comprehension are 1.6 (1974) and 1.9 (1975) in the Swedes' favour, the differences in listening comprehension are higher both years, 2.7 and 3.2.

Some further hints about the Finn's difficulties in perception and discrimination can be found from an analysis of spelling errors. Exact figures from spelling errors in our material are not yet available, but a few general trends can be discerned.

The first quite obvious point to be made about spelling errors is that they depend on what type of test they occur in. In a dictation or partial dictation test, they may occur at any stage in the process involved, but usually a large proportion of errors are due to faulty perception and discrimination. On the other hand, such errors are much less frequent in translations, and especially in compositions, since the student generally at least thinks he knows the words he uses. In these tests the explanation of the error must generally be sought in the later, productive stage, where the student fails to find the correct *Wortbild*, the right graphemic realization of the word.

In a dictation test Finns make many more errors than Swedes, and most of these errors are due to faulty perception and discrimination. If an error occurs at the phonemic level only, the version Finns produce tends to give an entirely different pronunciation of the word. Examples are **obbortunity* pro *opportunity*, **gloud* pro *cloud*, **jatting* pro *chatting*. On the other hand, when the spelling produces the same pronunciation as the original, as in **receaved* pro *received*, Swedes seem to make at least as many mistakes of this type as Finns.

Another difference that can be observed in dictations is that where Swedes go wrong they usually do so at the phonemic level only, i.e., they substitute wrong phonemes, whereas Finns make more errors where wrong *words*, not phonemes, are substituted. Perception of word boundaries also seems to cause greater difficulties for Finns than for Swedes.

In compositions and translations, spelling error frequencies are not notably

[2] The number of candidates taking this optional examination (the other option being a translation from and into English) was: 1974 3084 Finns, 324 Swedes; 1975 5654 Finns, 654 Swedes. The percentage of Swedes choosing the new type of examination, where an essay is also required, was higher than that of the Finns both years.

different for the two language groups. Even here, however, where errors normally occur at the phonemic level only, a difference in type of errors can be seen, in that many of the errors made by Finns are ultimately due to perception difficulties. The well-known difficulty for Finns in distinguishing /p, t, k/ from /b, d, g/ in the Germanic languages is particularly evident.

However, the perception and discrimination of individual phonemes is probably not the main reason for the poor results of Finns in tests where listening comprehension figures prominently. In the perception of larger units there seem to be other, more important causes of errors which are due to differences between Finnish on the one hand and Swedish and English on the other.

One factor of importance here is stress. In Finnish, the stress is fixed on the first syllable of a word, whereas the stress in Swedish is similar to that in English in that the stress is usually on the first syllable, but not invariably so. Finns have thus lost an important clue for the discernment of word boundaries.

Another difference connected with word boundaries is the existence of both initial and final clusters of consonants in Germanic words, a phenomenon which is not parallelled in standard Finnish (except in loanwords). For Finns this may mean another loss of clues to word boundaries, particularly relevant at the early stages of learning.

A linguistic feature in Finnish, but not in English or Swedish, that also contributes to a clear expectation of word boundaries is vowel harmony. If Finns meet an /ä/ or an /ö/ immediately following an /a/, /o/, or /u/, they are used to assuming that there is a word boundary between these syllables or that the word is a compound.

One of the differences between a spoken and a written medium is that the spoken medium is linear in that one cannot go back and ponder upon what was said earlier. It may well be that this uninvestigated time factor is responsible for a difference between Swedes and Finns in comprehending spoken English. Not only may the lack of immediately obvious associations with similar words in their L1 require a longer time for the understanding process of the Finns and thus cause greater difficulties on both the receptive and the productive side. We also have to reckon with the fundamental difference in structure between the Germanic languages and Finnish. Finnish is an agglutinative language where productive suffixes carry a lot of information. It contains greater syntactic redundancy than Swedish or English, and concord, especially in the noun phrase, plays a very prominent part. In his L1 a Finn is used to be given a large number of syntactic clues, not all of which are essential for the semantic interpretation of the message. When he is learning to understand spoken English, where such clues are much more sparse, the time to interpret the message may not be sufficient, and comprehension can be expected to be impaired much more than for a Swede in the same situation. A field of interesting psycholinguistic experiments lies open here.

In analysing grammatical errors, it has seemed sensible to concentrate on a few areas where Finnish differs from the Germanic languages. One obvious area is the use of the articles, where Finns lack a corresponding reference frame on their L1. Word order is another promising area, for different reasons. In a synthetic language such as Finnish, subject-verb word order is relatively free, whereas both English and Swedish have much more fixed, but different, rules for inversion. Further, subject-verb concord might provide interesting comparisons. In Finnish the present indicative forms of the verb are inflected in all persons, both singular and plural. In Swedish, on the other hand, there is only one verb form for all persons. In this respect English, with its third person -s ending, occupies an intermediate position between Finnish and Swedish.

To begin with the articles, it is immediately obvious that Finnish intermediate learners of English have great problems compared with Swedes. The groups investigated were English learners at a commercial college who read English for about five years on the average. The social background of the two groups were near identical. The tests used were partly a translation, partly an essay. In a comparative analysis of such tests the total number of potential errors should also be computed for both groups. All nouns that could be preceded by an article, numeral or possessive pronoun were regarded as potential sources of errors. Out of a total of 174 article errors occurring in our material, there were only 4 that did not fit this description, i.e., they were errors where articles had been placed in front of words which cannot be preceded by an article or another modifier.

Table 4. Errors in article usage, commercial college

	Translation		Essay	
	Fi. (N=58)	Sw. (N=42)	Fi. (N=58)	Sw. (N=42)
Average number of errors	0.7	0.2	1.6	0.8
Number of actual errors	40	8	94	32
Number of potential errors	408	293	1164	911
Percentage of errors actual:potential	9.8%	2.7%	8.1%	3.5%

This table shows a marked difference between the two language groups and it appears that a large number of Finns seem to have a very poor grasp of the system of English articles. It is also interesting to see the distribution of errors, if the essays are divided into three groups according to their general standard (language and content):

Table 5. Number of errors in article usage, commercial college, essay

	Fi.				Sw.			
	Gr. I (N = 14)	Gr. II (N = 24)	Gr. III (N = 20)	Total (N = 58)	Gr. I (N = 9)	Gr. II (N = 17)	Gr. III (N = 16)	Total (N = 42)
Article used where it should be omitted	7	14	3	24	1	4	6	11
Article used where it should be used	7	24	33	64	2	7	4	13
Wrong choice of article	—	3	3	6	—	3	5	8

Thus, the lower the general standard of the Finns, the greater is their tendency simply to ignore the existence of the articles in English.

In the use of the articles Swedes thus seem to have a greated advantage, compared with Finns. However, at a more advanced stage the Finns seem to reach almost the same stage as the Swedes, at least in answering question of the multiple-choice or blank-filling type. The following table shows the results (percentages of correct answers) in the entrance examinations to the Department of English.

Table 6. Percentage of correct answers to question on the use of articles

	Number of items	Finns	Swedes
1972	6	65.2%	67.1%
1973	17	73.0%	76.9%
1974	15	82.7%	94.7%

The type of test used may well be relevant to the small difference between the two language groups.[3] For, if there is anything striking in this table it is that the differences are not greater.[4] Test items of grammar trap students who are poor in certain areas of grammar, but a good knowledge of such grammatical traps as are set in the test items does not guarantee communicative competence. In fact, test items of this kind do not discriminate very well at this relatively advanced level. The candidates' essays would probably

[3] In 1974 the test items were too easy to give relavant information to our project.

[4] Oller and Redding (1971 : 90 ff.) found that in the use of English articles there was a difference between learners whose L1 has formal equivalents and those whose L1 has not: "G1 (students whose L1 has formal equivalents) performed better on the test of article usage than G2 (students whose native language did not have equivalents...). The differences... were statistically significant".

tell us more, but since they are rather short they contain only a limited number of article errors. The data from these essays have not yet been fully assembled.

It is dangerous to speculate on the general differences between Finnish and Swedish schools (the candidates come from a large variety of schools), but we should remember that in view of the lack of a reference frame for Finns, Finnish teachers are acutely aware of the difficult learning problem of the articles. Thus the emphasis on the mastery of grammatical rules, at least where the articles are concerned, may well be stronger in Finnish schools. However, the difficulties and labour involved in testing such a hypothesis are too great to be worth the effort.

In subject-verb concord, a contrastive analysis would seem to predict that Swedes have a greater learning difficulty, since they go from a simpler system with no present-tense endings for the verb to a more complex one, whereas Finns go from a more complex system with endings for all persons to a less complex system, where only the third person has a marked form with an *-s* ending. The Swedes perceive the *-s* as redundant in terms of their own system and can therefore be expected to omit it very frequently, whereas the Finns are merely subjected to the pressure from the unmarked forms which influences all learners of English, and can thus be expected to make fewer errors than Swedes.[5] In the entrance examinations at least, this hypothesis seems to work. In the composition required in 1972, the Swedes (N-69) made 22 concord errors, whereas the Finns (N-56) made only 3. The equivalent figures in 1974 were 15 for Swedes (N-45) and 4 for Finns (N-63), and in 1975 13 for Swedes (N-58) and 5 for Finns (N-42). Above all, as might be expected, the Swedes tended to omit the *-s* (the ratio in 1972 was 13 Swedes to 1 Finn, whereas 9 Swedes and 2 Finns inserted the ending when it should not be there).

At the intermediate stage, however, the picture is wholly different, as can be seen from the following table. Contrary to what might be expected, there is a clear difference in favour of the Swedes:

Table 7. Errors of subject-verb concord, commercial college, essay

	Finns (N = 58)				Swedes (N = 42)			
	Gr. I	Gr. II	Gr. III	Total	Gr. I	Gr. II	Gr. III	Total
Number of actual out of potential errors	8/287	47/486	67/369	122/1142	2/170	8/388	10/323	20/881
Percentage actual/ potential errors	2.8%	9.7%	18.2%	10.7%	1.2%	2.1%	3.1%	2.3%

[5] For the concept of redundancy, see George (1972 : 9 ff.)

Since the distribution of concord errors at this stage is especially interesting, it will be worthwhile to look at them in some detail. They can be subdivided in the following way:

Table 8. Number of errors of subject-verb concord, commercial college, essay

	Finns (N=58)	Swedes (N=42)
3p. pres. *-s* omitted in main verb	79	2
-s used with plural subject	4	—
were pro *was*	18	11
was pro *were*	7	6
are pro *is*	5	—
is pro *are*	2	1
have pro *has*	7	—
Total	122	20

This table shows that by far the majority of concord errors made by Finns consist of leaving out the third person *-s*. In fact, for at least the worst Finns, a picture emerges similar to that of the articles: they seem to be almost unaware of the system of English verb inflection, and their tendency is consistently to ignore the *-s*. As far as subject-verb concord is concerned, these Finns are clearly at what Corder calls the presystematic stage of learning: they are "only vaguely aware, if at all, that there is something to be learned, that the target language has a particular system" (Corder 1973 : 271). These pupils have not yet reached the stage of having a choice problem in the sense of choosing between well-defined and understandably organized alternatives,[6] since this stage presupposes a basic knowledge of what alternatives to choose from.

The Finns thus seem to dwell much longer than the Swedes at the presystematic stage of learning English, or to put it differently, their organizational problem is much greater. This is perhaps a more concrete way of putting the well-known fact that learning a related language takes less time than learning a non-related language.[7] At the early and intermediate stage of English-language learning these initial disadvantages of the Finns weigh much more than individual similarities and differences between isolated grammatical constructions, which play only a subordinate role. They are

[6] Cf. Eugene Galanter (1966 : 53): "This problem of how the person or the animal organizes his universe is at once the deepest and the least understood of all the problems in psychology". Galanter's book explores the fundamental importance of the two themes of choice and organization for psychology.

[7] See, e. g. Jakobovits (1970 : 204 ff.), referring to H. Cleveland, G. J. Mangone and J. C. Adams (1960 : 250 ff.)

only parts of the whole complex process of expanding and reorganizing one's language capacity to include another language as well as L1. As foreign-language learning progresses beyond the elementary stage, the learner gradually comes to reduce the numerous organizational problems to choice problems with clear-cut alternatives.

This distinction between choice and organization may illuminate the controversial question of L1-transfer. It seems that there is a distinction between L1-transfer at the organizational level and transfer at the choice level. At the organizational level, similarities between L_1 and L_2 facilitate learning, i.e., they cause primarily positive transfer, in that the learner is able to recognize and understand familiar concepts and categories and can proceed relatively rapidly to the problem of choosing between a set of alternatives. Where L1 and L2 differ considerably from each other, the small degree of such positive transfer leads to numerous organizational problems. Organizational transfer is most clearly seen, or rather least obscure, in grammar and vocabulary (including word-formation), but it is still, I think, very little understood. At the same time it is more fundamental than choice-level transfer, since it comes first in time. Beginners, and to some extent also intermediate learners, produce a substantial number of errors for which no rational explanation can be found and which are clear evidence of their organizational problems. At the choice level, no such relatively clear-cut distinction can be made. Negative and positive transfer occur, but it is difficult to assess the relative importance of 'false friends' and similarities that are only superficial on the one hand, and the positive L1-influence, which is much harder to pin down in concrete terms, on the other. Also, as learning proceeds, intralingual interference is the cause of more and more errors.[8] Errors at the choice level are much more amenable to analysis, and numerous investigations of errors have been made, with detailed classification into different categories according to type of error and cause of error. Hardly anything, however, has so far been said about positive transfer from L1.

Of course the relatedness of the foreign language to L1 is not the only factor that determines the length of time during which a learner remains at the stage of organizational difficulties. Age and intellectual and social background, proficiency in L1, language-learning aptitude, the learning situation and the degree of contact with L_2, and motivation are other variables that have to be taken into account.

So far our project, which has a slightly different slant from that of most other error analyses in that we are primarily concerned with comparing error frequencies, not with the typology and classification of errors, has yielded material for discussion of what is probably the most fundamental aspect

[8] Cf. e.g. Taylor (1975).

of applied linguistics: the foreign-language learning process. Much more work needs to be done before anything can be said with certainty, but it is, at any rate, encouraging to find that the same frequency pattern tends to repeat itself year after year in our entrance tests. The main differences between Finns and Swedes can tentatively be summarized in the following way:

— The differences in proficiency largely depend on what type of test is used. The more spoken language and the more receptive skills[9] are tested, the greater the difference tends to be in favour of the Swedes. Grammar items, on the other hand, even out the differences.

— The Finns have considerable organizational problems in learning English, whereas the Swedes pass much more quickly on to choice problems. Our investigations confirm the view often expressed by experienced English teachers in Finland that Finns have much greater initial learning difficulties, which are, however, evened out as learning proceeds.

— There may be a difference in the learning strategy. The Finns seem to depend more than the Swedes on the written forms of the language. The hypothesis that this is due to a different teaching method at Finnish schools, with heavier emphasis on grammar and the written skills, is possible, though not probable, and for practical reasons it is almost impossible to verify or refute it. A learner with a related language as his L1 probably adopts a more assimilatory strategy of L_2-learning than a learner with an unrelated L1. To a considerable extent, the learner of a related language will depend upon his linguistic intuition, and he may well feel that knowledge of the details of the grammar he has been taught is of only subsidiary use to him. Compared with Finns, Swedes seem to acquire not so much a new system of rules as a modified system of rules using the rules of their L1 as a base.

— The consequence of this may well be that a Swede tends to, as it were, prune out rules that do not seem all that important to him. Consciously or subconsciously it is easy for him to adopt some such attitude as: "This is more or less what I know from before. It's easy and I need not bother about details, since I shall be able to manage somehow anyway." Such an attitude may be particularly harmful at the later stages of learning and will prevent thorough active mastery of the L_2, but it is not necessarily a great obstacle for achieving communicative competence at a fairly low level.[10]

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[9] For practical reasons, the difference between Finns and Swedes in productive oral skills has not yet been investigated.

[10] Cf. what Harold Palmer wrote as early as 1917 (1964 : 33): "The problem to be faced by a Frenchman about to learn Italian has a very different character from that encountered by an Englishman setting out to learn Hungarian. French and Italian are cognate or sister languages... The resemblances... constitute both a facility and a source of danger. French and Italian are very similar in structure, and by far the greater part of their vocabulary may be arranged in homo-etymonic pairs. That is to say, most French words have their etymological equivalent in Italian, which may generally be recognized

From these preliminary results are there any lessons to be drawn for English teaching in Finland? One obvious consequence of the difficulties of listening comprehension for Finns is, of course, that more attention than before should be paid to listening comprehension in Finnish schools. One might even venture further and question the method which is generally used in schools when pupils start oral production at the very beginning. An alternative might be to make the pupils start by concentrating entirely on listening, without producing anything for themselves for the first few months. Naturally such a method would also involve an elaborate listening comprehension test battery which would maintain the motivation and the active participation of the pupils. Good results by this method have been achieved in the U.S.A. by Valerian A. Postovsky, teaching Russian to American cadets (Postovsky 1974). The difficulty here may be that there is insufficient time available for Finnish schoolchildren to be immersed in a foreign-language bath of the kind used by Postovsky, but with the aid of school television and radio it would be possible to improve present results considerably, even within the framework of the present number of school hours.

The method of delaying oral production at the initial stage of learning will get further support from those who stress the essential sameness of L1-learning and L_2-learning. A child learning his L1 has to listen for a long time before he learns to speak. In spite of some recent attempts to this effect, the parallel between L1-learning and L_2-learning should probably not be

at sight. When a Frenchman can take a long passage in Italian and decipher its meaning by converting each word into its French morphological equivalent, he may be excused for assuming that etymological and semantic identity are one and the same thing. To a certain extent also he may be justified in concluding that it is possible to speak and understand Italian while thinking in French. It will be difficult, perhaps impossible, for him to resist putting his theory into practice, and by doing so to become the victim of all the fallacies which militate against success in language-study; he will become a bad learner.

An Englishman studying Hungarian will have no such temptation. On the face of it there is no possible etymological or morphological identity between Hungarian words and English ones. The superficial difficulty of the language will tend to force him to adopt a right line of study, just as the superficial facility of Italian will tempt the Frenchman into the wrong path. A paradox-loving Belgian pupil... once declared English to be far more difficult of acquisition than German. Written English, he said looked so absurdly easy that it was impossible not to believe that it was a word-for-word transcription of French; its apparent facility discouraged serious study. German, on the contrary, was so different from French in every respect that all efforts at a similar method of translation were doomed to failure.

This shrewd observation concretizes the essential differences between a pair of cognate languages and a pair which are non-cognate. The former constitute a direct temptation to a vicious system of mechanical conversion; in the latter case the absence of morphological resemblance tends to a sounder system of study.

A pupil will be more docile and require fewer disciplinary measures when learning a language of a totally strange nature".

stretched too far. However, we may also remember the well-known phenomenon of the child who, transferred to a foreign-language environment says hardly anything in the new language for the first few months, but then suddenly, within a short space of time, learns to maintain quite long conversations. It seems that the child needs a reasonably long period to get used to the foreign language in all its aspects: only then can he perform himself.[11]

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[11] A first version of this paper appeared in Ringbom and Palmberg (1976), where more detailed information can be found about the tests and the errors commented upon here. In preparing this paper I have profited greatly from comments and suggestions made by, among others, Geoffrey Philips, Roger D. Sell, and Viljo Kohonen and the other members of the Text Linguistics Research Group.

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